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who inhabited the surrounding hills, and, in the event of a struggle, would assuredly take part with the stronger. The wilds and hilly fastnesses, which extend north and south along our frontier for 800 miles, were in the hands of some thirty or more different tribes. The political management of these rested with Colonel Nicholson and Major Edwardes, under the supervision of Sir John Lawrence.

On the 13th of May, a court-martial met at Peshawur, consisting of General Reid, Brigadier Cotton, Brigadier Neville Chamberlain, Colonel Edwardes, and Colonel Nicholson, and resolved that the troops in the hills should be concentrated in Jhelum, the central point of the Punjab. In accordance with this resolution, H.M.'s 27th foot from the hills at Nowshera, H.M.'s 24th foot from Rawul Pindee, one European troop of horse artillery from Peshawur, the Guide corps from Murdaun, 16th irregular cavalry from Rawul Pindee, the native Kumaon battalion from the same place, the 1st Punjab infantry from Bunnoo, a wing of the 2nd Punjab cavalry from Kohat, and half a company of sappers from Attock; were ordered to concentrate at Jhelum, for the purpose of forming a movable column, in readiness to quell mutiny wherever it might appear.

The danger which menaced the Punjab was fully appreciated by Sir John Lawrence; but without waiting to test the temper of the Seiks, and even while considering (as he afterwards stated) that "no man could hope, much less foresee, that they would withstand the temptation of avenging the loss of their national independence,"* he nevertheless urged on the commander-in-chief, in the earliest days of the mutiny, the paramount necessity of wresting Delhi from the hands of the rebels, at any hazard and any sacrifice, before the example of successful resistance should become known in India—before reinforcements of mutineers should flock to the imperial city, and thus teach its present craven occupants the value of the *prestige* they had so undeservedly obtained, and of the advantages they at first evinced so little capacity of using.

General Anson, on relinquishing his idea of marching immediately on Delhi, seriously

discussed the advisability of fortifying Umballah; and asked the advice of Sir John Lawrence, whose reply, given in the language of the whist table—with which the commander-in-chief was notoriously more conversant than with that of war, offensive or defensive†—was simply this: "When in doubt, win the trick. Clubs are trumps; not spades."‡ To render his advice practicable, Sir John Lawrence strained every nerve in raising corps for reinforcements, and even parted with the famous Guide corps; sending it, the Kumaon battalion, and other portions of the movable column, to join the army moving on Delhi, and recruiting his own ranks as best he could.

The Peshawur residency, although deemed unsafe for habitation, was, at this critical period, richly stored. Twenty-five lacs of rupees, or £250,000, intended as a subsidy for Dost Mohammed, had been most opportunely deposited there; for, in the financial paralysis consequent on the crisis, this money proved of the greatest service in enabling the authorities to meet the heavy commissariat expenses.§ To retain it in the residency was, however, only to offer a strong temptation to the lowest classes of the population; and it was therefore sent for safety to the strong and famous old fort of *Attock*, which commands the passage of the Indus, whose waters wash its walls. The fort was garrisoned by a wing of H.M.'s 27th foot; provisioned for a siege, and its weak points strengthened. The communication between Attock and Peshawur (a distance of forty miles) was protected by sending the 55th Native infantry, and part of the 10th irregular cavalry, from Nowshera, on the Attock road, across the Cabool river to Murdaun, a station left vacant by the departure of the Guides. The men suspected that they had been sent there because their loyalty was distrusted; and taunted their colonel, Spottiswoode, with having brought them to a prison. The colonel, who firmly believed in the integrity of his regiment, assured them to the contrary, and promised to forward to head-quarters any petition they might draw up. They accordingly framed one; and the most prominent grievance of which they complained, was the breaking up in practice, though not in name, of the invalid establishment.||

* Letter from Sir J. Lawrence to Mr. Raikes. — *Revolt in the N. W. Provinces*, p. 75.

† General Anson is said to have been the author of a well-known Hand-book on Whist, by "Major A."

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‡ Cooper's *Crisis in the Punjab*, p. 45.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

|| See Introductory Chapter to narrative of Mutiny, p. 111.

from Kurnaul at nine in the evening, with one led horse and an escort of Seik cavalry; arrived at Meerut about daybreak; delivered the commander-in-chief's despatches to General Wilson; had a bath, breakfast, and two hours' sleep, and then rode back the seventy-six miles, thirty miles of the distance lying through a hostile country."*

General van Cortlandt is another commander of irregular troops, whose name will

frequently appear in the course of the narrative. He was serving the British government in a civil capacity at the time of the outbreak, but was then called on to levy recruits. The nucleus of his force consisted of 300 Dogras (short built, sturdy men), belonging to Rajah Jowahir Sing, of Lahore. This number he increased to 1,000; and the Dogras did good service under their veteran leader.

CHAPTER VIII.

MARCH OF BRITISH FORCES, AND SIEGE OF DELHI.—MAY 27TH TO JUNE 24TH, 1857.

ADVANCE ON DELHI.—The terrible turning-point passed, and the fact proved that, in the hands of Sir John Lawrence and his lieutenants, the Punjab was not a source of danger, but a mine of strength, affairs at headquarters assumed a new aspect; and the arrival of the Seik reinforcements was of invaluable assistance to the small band of Europeans on whom alone reliance could previously be placed, it having been found necessary to disarm the 5th Native Infantry at Umballah on the morning of May 29th, the day before General Barnard, with the staff of the army, started from Kurnaul for Delhi. The 60th Native Infantry were detached to Rohtuck, it being considered too great a trial of fidelity to employ this Hindoostanee corps in besieging their countrymen and co-religionists.

Encounter at the Hindun.—The small detachment of troops from Meerut, under Brigadier Wilson, marched thence on the 27th of May, to join the main body, and, on the morning of the 30th, encamped at Ghazi-u-deen Nuggur, a small but strongly fortified position on the river Hindun, about ten miles from Delhi. The troops were weary with night marches, and enfeebled by the intensity of the hot winds. No one entertained any suspicion of the vicinity of the enemy. At about four o'clock in the afternoon, when officers and men were for the most part asleep, a picket of

irregulars, stationed beyond the suspension-bridge, gave the alarm of an approaching foe. The bugles sounded, and the Rifles had scarcely formed before an 18-pounder shot burst into the British camp, and took one leg from each of two native palkee-bearers, who were sitting at the tent door of the Carabineers' hospital. The attacking force consisted of a strong detachment of mutineers from Delhi, who had succeeded in bringing their heavy guns to bear on the British camp before even their vicinity was suspected. Two 18-pounders were speedily opened to meet the hostile fire; the Rifles crossed the bridge, and were soon actively engaged in front; while the horse artillery, under Lieutenant-colonel Mackenzie, turned the left flank of the enemy, who thereupon commenced a retreat, leaving behind them five guns (two of large calibre),† and carts full of intrenching tools and sand-bags. The long delay of the British had evidently given time to the rebels to plan; but not to execute, the occupation of a fortified position on the Hindun. The numbers engaged are but vaguely stated. The chaplain who accompanied the expedition, speaks of 700 Englishmen attacking a force seven times their number.‡ The loss on the British side, in killed and wounded, did not exceed forty-four men; and was chiefly occasioned by the explosion of a cart-full of ammunition near the toll-bar, which a havildar of the 11th (a Meerut mutineer) fired into when the rout began. He was instantly bayoneted. Captain Andrews, of the Rifles, was killed

* *Twelve Years of a Soldier's Life in India*, p. 7.

† Greathed's *Letters*, p. 6.

‡ The Chaplain's *Narrative*, p. 26.

put on guard over and in the bank, in which lay some 80,000 Company's rupees. "The critical state of affairs," Mr. Cooper states, "may be judged not only from the audacity of their demands, but the undisguised audacity of their bearing. They demanded to be shown the actual treasure; and their swarthy features lit up with glee unpleasant to the eye of the bystander, when they saw the shining pieces. One sepoy tossed back the flap of the coat of a gentleman present, and made a queer remark on the revolver he saw worn underneath."* At Kussowlie, just above Umballah, a party of Goorkas actually robbed the treasury, and the rest broke into open bloodshed. Captain Blackall was about to order a party of H.M.'s 75th to act against the Goorkas; when Mr. Taylor, the assistant-commissioner, represented to him, that the safety of the helpless community of Simla depended on the avoidance of an outbreak. Captain Blackall acknowledged the force of the argument, and contented himself with adopting purely defensive measures, although actually surrounded by the Goorkas, and taunted with such expressions as "Shot for shot!" "Life for life!" In fact, the wise counsel of Mr. Taylor, and the address and temper evinced by Captain Blackall, proved the means of preserving Simla from being the scene of "horrors, in which, in enormities, perhaps Cawnpore would have been outdone."† The wisdom of the conciliation policy practised at Kussowlie, was not at first appreciated at Simla; and the replacement of the government treasury under the charge of the Goorkas, was viewed, naturally enough, as a perilous confession of weakness. "The panic reached its climax, and general and precipitate flight commenced. Officers, in high employ, rushed into ladies' houses, shouting, 'Fly for your lives! the Goorkas are upon us!' Simla was in a state of consternation: shoals of half-crazed fugitives, timid ladies, hopeless invalids, sickly children hardly able to totter—whole families burst forth, and poured helter-skelter down on Dughai and Kussowlie. Some ran down steep khuds [ravines] and places marked only by the footprints of the mountain herds, and remained all night. Never had those stately pines looked down upon, or those sullen glens and mossy retreats

echoed with, such a tumult and hubbub. Ladies, who are now placidly pursuing ordinary domestic duties, wrote off perhaps for the last time to their distracted husbands in the plains: then, snatching up their little ones, fled away, anywhere out of the Simla world. Extraordinary feats were performed; some walked thirty miles! Some, alas! died from the effects of exhaustion and fear." The Mohammedan servants exulted in the belief that the European raj was about to close; and among the many anecdotes current during the panic, was one of a little boy being jeeringly told that his mamma would soon be grinding gram for the King of Delhi!‡

The news reached the commander-in-chief (Anson) at the time when the scales had just fallen from his eyes, and when the massacres of Meerut and Delhi, and the remonstrances of Sir John Lawrence and Colvin, had convinced him of the miserable error of his past proceedings. The plan of coercing and disbanding regiments had worse than failed with the Poorbeahs: it was not likely to succeed with the Goorkas. The Jutog troops were on the point, if not in the act, of mutiny; and, if not arrested, their example of defection or rebellion might be followed by the Kumaon and Sirmoor battalions, and the 66th (Napier's corps);§ and thus the resources of government would be lessened, and its difficulties greatly increased. In this strait, General Anson selected Captain Briggs, superintendent of roads, who possessed an intimate knowledge of the habits, customs, and feelings of the Goorkas, and desired him to hold communication with them, and secure their adherence even at the price of wholesale condonation of mutiny. This was actually done. A free pardon was given to the regiment generally, the only exception being a subahdar, named Chunderbun, described by Major Bagot as one of the best soldiers in the corps, and who had been absent at the time of the mutiny, but who had irretrievably offended his comrades by stating that they had no objection to use the new cartridges. Two men, "dismissed by order of court-martial" for taunting the school of musketry, "were restored to the service." These extraordinary concessions proved as successful as the opposite policy (commenced by the disbandment of the unfortunate 19th N.I.) had been disastrous. The advance on Delhi during the intense heat was as trying to the Goorkas as to the

* Cooper's *Crisis in the Punjab*, p. 103.

† *Ibid.*, p. 104.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

§ See page 107, ante.

evils of delay." Any advantage gained thereby was, as ought to have been foreseen, more than counterbalanced by the rapid growth of the enemy's resources.*

Before a siege-train could be procured, a marked change had taken place in the attitude of the mutineers. The name of Delhi in revolt offered to discontented adventurers throughout India, and especially to Mohammedans, an almost irresistible attraction; and while the British raised regiments of doubtful or dangerous character with toil, by dint of the most unremitting energy, and at an enormous cost, thousands flocked in at the open gates of the city, and seized the weapons and manned the guns left ready to their hand.

The long waited for siege-train, when it arrived, proved quite insufficient for the work required. "No one," as Mr. Greathed naïvely remarks, "seems to have thought that the guns at the disposal of the mutineers are 24-pounders, and that the 18-pounders we brought with us were not likely to silence them; and it is for this reason our approach to the town is rendered so difficult. There was certainly an entire miscalculation of the power of resistance afforded to the rebels by their command of the Delhi arsenal."†

In fact, the British troops, instead of the besiegers, became literally the besieged, and were thankful for the shelter offered by the ridge on which the advanced pickets stood, and which enabled them to say—"Here we are in camp, as secure against assaults as if we were in Delhi, and the mutineers outside."‡ Even this was not always the case; for at sunrise on the morning of the 12th of June, the most advanced picket, that at the Flagstaff tower, was fiercely attacked, and nearly carried by surprise, by a large body of mutineers who had contrived to approach unobserved under cover of night, and conceal themselves in the ravines in the compound or grounds attached to Sir T. Metcalfe's late house, situated between the Flagstaff tower and the river. The picket was hard pressed; the two artillery guns were nearly taken; Captain Knox, and several of the 75th foot, were killed: the enemy even descended the camp side of the ridge; and three of the rebels were killed in the sepoy lines, within a short distance of the tents, before rein-

forcements could be brought up to support the disputed position, and drive off the insurgents. To prevent the recurrence of a similar danger, a large picket was sent to occupy Metcalfe's house—a precaution which would have been taken earlier but for the difficulty of providing relief, and which threw up, as it were, a left flank to the British defences, and rendered it almost impossible for the enemy to pass round to attack the camp on that side. The attempt upon the Flagstaff tower had hardly been repulsed, when other bodies of insurgents advanced against Hindoo Rao's house, and through the Subzee Munde, into the gardens on the right flank of the camp. The first of these movements was inconsiderable; but supports of all arms had to be moved up to oppose the second. Major Jacob led the 1st Fusiliers against the rebels, and drove them out of the gardens with much slaughter.§

The manifest insufficiency of the British force to besiege, much less blockade, Delhi, led certain of the officers to desire to attempt its capture by a *coup-de-main*; and Sir Henry Barnard directed three engineer officers (Wilberforce Greathed, Chesney, and Maunsell), assisted by Hodson, to form a project of attack, of which, when laid before the general, he highly approved.|| Two gates of the city were to be blown in by powder-bags, by which means two columns of the attacking force (comprising some 1,700 or 1,800 infantry) were to effect an entrance. Early on the morning of the 13th of June, corps were formed in readiness; and the Rifles had actually got within 400 or 500 yards of the city wall, unperceived by the enemy, when they were recalled in consequence of "the mistake of a superior officer in delaying the withdrawal of the pickets, without which the infantry regiments were mere skeletons." The abandonment of the plan became inevitable, as daylight was fast approaching, and it was felt that success could not be anticipated except as the result of surprise. Major Norman pronounced the accident which hindered the attempt, an interposition of Providence on behalf of the British; and considers that defeat, or even partial success, would have been ruin; while complete success would not have achieved the results subsequently obtained.¶ Considerable difference of opinion, however, prevailed on the subject.

* Hodson's *Twelve Years in India*, p. 198.

† Greathed's *Letters*, p. 18.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 11.

¶ *Ibid.*

§ Norman's *Conquest of the Punjab*, p. 22.
|| Hodson's *Twelve Years in India*, p. 209.
¶ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

this evidence of distrust, but happily in vain. In the 8th irregular cavalry, however, such perfect reliance continued to be placed, that their commandant, Captain Mackenzie, was empowered to raise additional troops for permanent service; and the cavalry lines were appointed as the place of rendezvous in the event of an outbreak.

Nor was this confidence without foundation. The corps, it is true, succumbed; but it is evident the men had no systematic treachery in view, but were simply carried away by what to them must have been an irresistible impulse. At Bareilly there yet remained a lineal descendant of the brave but ill-fated Hafiz Rehmet, the Rohilla chief who fell when British bayonets were hired out by Warren Hastings, to enable Shujah Dowlah, of Oude, to "annex" a neighbouring country. Khan Bahadoor Khan was a venerable-looking man, of dignified manners, and considerable ability—much respected by both Europeans and natives. Being a pensioner of government in his double capacity as representative of the former ruler of the country, and also as a retired Principal Sudder Ameen (or native judge), the old man was considered, by the commissioner and collector, as identified with British interests; and he was daily closeted with them as a counsellor in their anxious discussions regarding the state of affairs.* From subsequent events, he is believed to have been instrumental in fomenting disaffection, rather than to have been carried away by the torrent; but no very conclusive evidence has yet appeared on the subject. On the 29th of May, some of the Native officers reported to Colonel Troup, the second in command, that whilst bathing in the river, the men of the 18th and 68th N.I. had sworn to rise in the middle of the day and massacre the Europeans. Notice was immediately given to Captain Mackenzie; under whom the irregular cavalry turned out with the utmost promptitude, and appeared quite resolved to stand by the Europeans.†

No outbreak occurred during this or the following day; but great numbers of the 45th mutineers, from Ferozpoor, passed through Bareilly on both these days, and spread alarm among the yet obedient troops,

by assuring them that a large European force, with artillery, had been concentrated in the vicinity of the station, and that the destruction of the whole of the Native regiments had been resolved on by the "*gora logue*" (white people). The Native lines were a scene of confusion throughout the night of Saturday the 30th; few of the men retired to their own huts; and the Europeans were in a state of extreme anxiety, having received warning of the determination at which the irregular cavalry had arrived—of remaining strictly neutral in the approaching struggle, and neither raising their hands against their countrymen nor the Europeans. The confidence of some of the officers in their men was unbroken to the last. For instance, at nine o'clock on the Sunday morning, Major Pearson, who was in command of the 18th, called on Colonel Troup, and assured him that his men were all right. Two hours later a gun was fired by the artillery, and immediately afterwards the sepoys began firing on the officers' bungalows. Brigadier Sibbald mounted his horse, and rode towards the cavalry lines, but was met by a party of infantry, who shot him in the chest: the brave old soldier rode on till he reached the appointed rendezvous, and then dropped dead from his horse. Ensign Tucker perished while endeavouring to save the life of the sergeant-major. The chief part of the Europeans, civil and military, reached the cavalry lines in safety, and agreed to retire on Nynce Tal. The troopers were assembled in readiness to join in the retreat, when Captain Mackenzie came up, and asked Colonel Troup's permission to comply with the wishes of the men, who desired "to have a crack at the mutineers." They returned accordingly, and soon came in sight of the rebels. The result may be readily guessed. The sight of the green flag—the symbol of their faith—sufficed to turn the scale with the troopers; and when directed to charge upon their co-religionists, they halted, began to murmur, and ended by turning their horses' heads, and ranging themselves around the same banner. The officers (Captain Mackenzie and Lieutenant Becher), with a faithful remnant of their late regiment,‡ were compelled to rejoin the party proceeding to

three motherless boys, who were left in the lines of the mutineers. The old man grasped the hand of his commander, and, looking up to heaven with tears in his eyes, exclaimed, "No, I will go on with you,

* *Mutiny of the Bengal Army*, p. 198.

† Col. Troup's report.—Further Parl. Papers, p. 138.

‡ Mohammed Nizam, a Native officer, was told by Captain Mackenzie to go back and look after his

CHAPTER X.

OUDE, LUCKNOW, SEETAPOOR, MOHUMDEE, MULLAON, BAHRAETCH, GONDAH,
MULLAPOOR, FYZABAD, SALONE, AND DURIABAD.—MAY 16TH TO JULY 4TH, 1857.

OUDE.—The efforts of Sir Henry Lawrence were successful in preserving the tranquillity of Oude up to the end of May. In the meantime, he had taken precautions in anticipation of a calamity which he considered nothing short of the speedy recapture of Delhi could avert. On the 16th of May, he requested the Supreme government, by telegraph, to entrust him with plenary military power in Oude; which was immediately granted.* He was appointed brigadier-general, and he lost not a moment in entirely changing the disposition of the troops. Arrangements for Lucknow, he considered, might be satisfactorily made; but the unprotected condition of Allahabad, Benares, and especially of Cawnpoor, filled him with alarm; and he wrote urgently to the governor-general, entreating that no expense might be spared in sending Europeans to reinforce that place. At midnight on the 20th, an application for aid was dispatched from thence to Lucknow (fifty miles distant), and was answered by the immediate dispatch of fifty men of H.M.'s 32nd, and two squadrons of Native cavalry. The cavalry were not needed at Cawnpoor; and Captain Fletcher Hayes projected, and obtained leave to attempt, the expedition against the Etah rajah, the melancholy result of which has been already related.

Lucknow itself needed every precaution which Sir Henry Lawrence had the means of taking. It extended along the right bank of the Goomtee for four miles, and its buildings covered an area of seven miles. It contained, according to Mr. Raikes, 200,000 fighting-men, and as many more armed citizens. Sleeman estimated the total population at 1,000,000 persons;† others have placed it at 1,200,000: but no census had been attempted either by the Native or European government. The rising of the Lucknow people was anticipated by the resident Europeans as a very probable event, for the plain reason that, in the words of one of the annalists of the siege, "we

had done very little to merit their love, and much to merit their detestation;" and "the people in general, and especially the poor, were dissatisfied, because they were taxed directly and indirectly in every way."‡ The mutiny of the Native troops was still more confidently expected; and Sir Henry Lawrence was urged to prevent it by disarming them: but he considered that this measure, though practicable and even desirable had the capital only required to be cared for, might precipitate an outbreak at Cawnpoor and at the out-stations of Oude, and therefore ought not to be adopted except in the last extremity. In the distribution of the forces, the chief object had been to station the Europeans where they would suffer least from exposure to the climate; and the natives had been entrusted with the sole charge of several important positions. It became necessary to make a new arrangement, and likewise to reduce the number of stations, that, in the event of an outbreak, the Europeans might not be cut off in detail. "We had eight posts," writes Sir H. Lawrence to Sir Hugh Wheeler, on the 20th of May: "as Sir C. Napier would say, we were like chips in porridge. We have given up four posts, and greatly strengthened three."§

Of these three, the *Muchee Bhawn* was the one which was at the onset most relied on. This fort, which derives its name of Muchee (fish)|| from the device over the gateway, and Bhawn (Sanskrit for house), had the appearance of a formidable and secure stronghold, and was held by the natives to be almost impregnable. It occupied a commanding position with regard to the town; and advantage was taken of this by planting cannon on its walls; or where that could not be done, supplying the deficiency with "jingals," or immense blunderbusses moving on pivots. All the magazine stores, previously under the charge of sepoy, were removed into the Muchee Bhawn, and a company of Europeans placed on guard there; supplies of wheat, and all sorts of

* Appendix to Parl. Papers on Mutiny, p. 187.

† Raikes' *Revolt*, p. 104. Sleeman's *Oude*, vol. i., p. 136.

‡ Rees' *Siege of Lucknow*, p. 34.

§ Appendix to Parl. Papers on Mutiny, p. 311.

|| The order of the Fish was the highest and most coveted distinction in the Mogul empire.

discharges, they broke up and fled precipitately. The guns followed slowly with the infantry: the troopers might have overtaken the fugitive crowds; but they had evidently no desire to do so, notwithstanding the promise of 100 rupees for every mutineer captured or slain; and, after proceeding a few miles further, the pursuit was abandoned. Thirty prisoners were taken. The Europeans were at first surprised by seeing numbers of men and women running in all directions, with bundles on their heads; but they soon discovered that these were villagers and camp-followers making off with booty obtained in the cantonments during the preceding night. Some of the plunderers were seized by Commissioner Gubbins, who, with his own orderly and three of Fisher's horse, got detached from the rest of the cavalry; but what to do with his prisoners the commissioner knew not; for, he adds, "we had not yet learnt to kill in cold blood." Neither had the sepoys learned to expect it: they would have been more daring had they been more desperate. Gubbins and his four native followers came suddenly on six of the fugitives, and captured them in the following singular manner. "Coming up with them, they threw down their loaded muskets and drew their swords, of which several had two. Threatening them with our fire-arms, we called upon them to throw down their arms, which presently they did. One of them declared himself to be a havildar; and I made him pinion tightly his five comrades, using their turbans and waistbands for the purpose. One of the troopers then dismounted and tied the havildar's arms. Three of the men belonged to the 48th N.I., three to the 13th N.I., and one man was a Seik. One of the prisoners wore three English shirts over his native dress. The arms were collected and laden on a couple of peasants summoned from the village, and the six prisoners were sent back in charge of a single horseman." Mr. Gubbins rode on, and, in his own words, "gave chase" to two or three more fugitives, and had nearly overtaken them, when his orderly perceived a number of sepoy heads behind a low wall, at the entrance of a village they were about to enter. This changed the aspect of affairs; and, amid a shower of bullets, the commissioner turned his horse's head, and, with his three followers, rode back with all speed to the Residency bungalow in cantonments, where he arrived about eleven

o'clock, Sir Henry Lawrence and the artillery having returned an hour before.

The trooper entrusted with the prisoners brought them duly in, and he and his three companions received the promised reward of 600 rupees. While waiting for their money in the house of Mr. Gubbins, they talked with the servants on the state of affairs. The three who belonged to Fisher's horse, said, "We like our colonel [Fisher], and will not allow him to be harmed; but if the whole army turns, we must turn too!" The events of a few days showed the significance of these words: the authority of the "Fauj ki Bheera," or general will of the army, was to individuals, and even to regiments, almost irresistible.*

In the afternoon of the 31st, an insurrection took place in a quarter of the city called Hoseynabad, near the Dowlutkhana. An Indian "budmash" is little less turbulent than an Italian "bravo;" and the class may well be supposed to have abounded in a city where every man engaged in the ordinary business of life, wore his tulwar, or short bent sword, and the poorest idler in the streets swaggered along with his shield of buffalo-hide and his matchlock or pistols. It appeared that the city budmashes, to the number of 6,000 men, had crossed the river in the morning with the intention of joining the mutineers in the cantonments; but their plans had been disconcerted by the promptitude with which Sir Henry Lawrence had pursued and dispersed their intended allies. Finding the mutineers gone, the budmashes returned to the city, and commenced a disturbance, but were put down by the efforts of the police assisted by a few faithful companies of irregular infantry. Many of the insurgents were killed, and several prisoners taken and, together with those previously captured, were lodged in the Muchee Bhawn to the number of forty. A court-martial was assembled for their trial, and the majority were executed by hanging, including the six sepoys seized by Commissioner Gubbins, the traitor who betrayed Lieutenant Grant's hiding-place, and the subahdar, who had a month before been raised to that rank, and presented with dress of honour and a thousand rupees, as a reward for his fidelity. The sentence passed by the court were not, however, all confirmed by Sir Henry Lawrence, for "he inclined much to clemency."† The

* Gubbins' *Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 111. † *Ibid.*, p. 111.

heard of the vicinity of Sir M. Jackson and his companions; and Captain Orr and his wife appear to have joined them, and, with them, to have fallen into the hands of the mutineers, who detained them in protracted captivity, the issue of which belongs to a later period of the narrative.

At *Mullaon*, a party of the 41st N.I., and the 4th Oude irregular infantry, became so turbulent, that the deputy-commissioner (Mr. Capper), perceiving mutiny impending, rode away, and reached Lucknow in safety.

At *Secrora*—a military station in the Bahraetch division of Oude, of which Mr. Wingfield was commissioner—a mutiny broke out, and the treasury was rifled; but all the Europeans escaped safely to Lucknow, from whence a strong party of volunteer and Seik cavalry, with elephants and dhoolies, were sent to bring in the ladies and children, which was safely accomplished on the 9th of June.

At *Gondah*, where the milder course of mutiny and plunder without massacre was adopted, the commandant (Captain Miles), and other officers of the 3rd Oude irregulars stationed there, were obliged to fly, and were, with Mr. Wingfield, protected for several days by the rajah of Bulrampoor, and then escorted by his troops across the Oude frontier into the Goruckpoor district, where they were kindly received by the rajah of Bansie, and enabled to reach Goruckpoor.

At *Bahraetch* itself, two civil servants were stationed—Mr. Cunliffe, deputy-commissioner, and his assistant, Mr. Jordan, with two companies of the 3rd irregular infantry, under Lieutenant Longueville Clarke. When mutiny appeared, the three Europeans rode off to Nanpara, intending to rest there, and proceed thence to the hills; but, on reaching that place, they were refused admittance. The reason given was connected with the *be-duk-ilee*, or dispossession grievance, which had produced so much disaffection throughout Oude. According to the British view of the question as stated by Mr. Gubbins, the rajah of Nanpara, being a minor, had fallen under the tutelage of a kinsman who had mismanaged the estate and dissipated the property. He had accordingly been removed by the authorities, and a new agent appointed; but when the insurrection commenced, the old administrator killed the government nominee, and resumed his former position. No injury was done to the fugitives at Nanpara. They retraced their steps to Bahraetch,

and disguising themselves as natives, strove to reach Lucknow, where Mr. Cunliffe expected to meet his affianced bride. Unfortunately they rode to the chief ferry, that of Byram Ghaut, which was guarded by the Secrora mutineers, by whom the disguised Europeans were discovered and put to death. Such, at least, was the statement made by several native witnesses, and which, Mr. Gubbins affirms, was believed at Lucknow by all except the betrothed girl, who hoped against hope, throughout the weary siege, that her lover yet survived. She might well do so; for during that terrible time, many persons were asserted to be dead, and details of the most revolting description related regarding their sufferings, who afterwards were discovered to be alive and wholly uninjured, save by fear, fatigue, and exposure to the weather.

Mr. Rees, who was connected by marriage with poor Clarke, mentions three different statements of the fate of the Bahraetch fugitives. One was, that they were “tried by the rebels for the murder of Fuzil Ali, and shot.” A military author, who is a very graphic describer, but who gives few and scanty references to his sources of information, narrates the catastrophe with much precision. Lieutenant Clarke had been especially active in the apprehension of Fuzil Ali, a rebel chief and notorious outlaw, well-known in the annals of Oude. The irregular infantry had assisted in the capture of the bandit, who was tried and executed for the murder of a Bengal civilian: but when they mutinied, they sent word to the 17th N.I. (which regiment was in their immediate vicinity), to know what should be done with the murderer of the chieftain? “Behead him,” was the reply; and the unfortunate officer, and another European with him, were immediately executed.*

Mr. Rees states, that the sword and pistols of Lieutenant Clarke were taken to his father, a well-known barrister of the same name, at Calcutta, by an old native dependent, who transmitted them in obedience to the order of his late master.

At *Mullapoor*, the last station of the Bahraetch division, there were no troops to mutiny; but the complete disorganisation of the district, compelled the officers there, Mr. Gonne, of the civil service, and Captain Hastings, to leave the place, and take

* *Mutiny of Bengal Army*; by one who served under Sir Charles Napier; p. 82.

suffering under "a dozen different complaints," and sent to Oude. Unhappily, the opportunity for pacification there, had been worse than lost. The landed proprietary had been driven, by our revenue and judicial system, into union on the single point of hostility towards the British. Among the talookdars, there were many chiefs entirely opposed in character to Maun Sing; but few had suffered such spoliation as he had, inasmuch as few had so much to lose. The dealings of government with him have never been succinctly stated. Mr. Russell (whose authorities in India are, from the quite peculiar position in which his talents and honesty have placed him, of the very highest class) asserts that, in 1856, Maun Sing was chased out of his estates by a regiment of cavalry, for non-payment of head-rent, or assessment to government. When he fled, many original proprietors came forward to claim portions of his estates (comprising, in all, 761 villages), and received them from the British administrators.* From a passage in a despatch written by Commissioner Wingfield, it appears that Maun Sing was absolutely in distress for money, and unable to borrow any, having "lost every village at the summary settlement."†

A man so situated was not unlikely to turn rebel. The Supreme government and the Lucknow authorities received intelligence which they deemed conclusive; and in accordance with a telegram from Calcutta, Maun Sing was arrested at Fyzabad in May, and remained in confinement till the beginning of June, when he sent for Colonel Goldney, warned him that the troops would rise, and offered, if released, to give the Europeans shelter at Shahgunje. Colonel Goldney appears to have rightly appreciated the motives of his interlocutor, which were simply a desire to be on the stronger side—that of the British; to obtain from them the best possible terms; and, at the same time, not to render himself unnecessarily obnoxious to his countrymen. Maun Sing was neither the fiery Rajpoot of Rajast'han (so well and so truly portrayed by Todd), nor the mild Hindoo of Bengal; nor, happily for us, was he a vengeful Mahratta like Nana Sahib: he was a shrewd, wary man, "wise in his generation," and made

himself "master of the situation," in a very wriggling, serpent-like fashion. He had no particular temptation to join either party. The ancient barons of Oude detested him and his family, as adventurers and *parvenus* of the most unprincipled description, who had grown wealthy on their spoils; and Maun Sing, in accordance with the proverb, that "the injurer never forgives," probably entertained a deeper aversion and distrust towards them than towards the English, by whom he had himself been despoiled. The event justified the policy adopted by Colonel Goldney in releasing the chief, with permission to strengthen his fort (which was greatly out of repair), and raise levies: but these measures he had little time to adopt; for before many days had elapsed, the expected mutiny took place, and was conducted in a manner which proved that, in the present instance, the sepoys were acting on a settled plan. On the morning of the 8th of June, intelligence was received that a rebel force (the 17th N.I., with a body of irregular cavalry and two guns from Azimghur) were encamped at Begum Gunje, ten miles from Fyzabad, and intended marching into the station on the following morning. The Europeans now prepared for the worst. The civilians and the non-commissioned officers sent their families to Shahgunje; to which place, Captain J. Reid, Captain Alexander Orr, and Mr. Bradford, followed them. Colonel Goldney, though also filling a civil appointment, remained behind. He had every confidence in the 22nd N.I., which he had formerly commanded; and he maintained a most gallant bearing to the moment of his death. Mrs. Lennox and her daughter (Mrs. Morgan), with the wife and children of Major Mill, remained in cantonments, in reliance on the solemn oath of the Native officers of the 22nd, that no injury should be done them. The European officers went to their respective posts; but soon found themselves prisoners, not being allowed to move twelve paces without being followed by a guard with fixed bayonets.

A risaldar of cavalry took command of the mutineers, and proceeded to release a moolvee, who had been confined in the quarter-guard, and in whose honour they fired a salute. This man was a Mohammedan of good family, who had traversed a considerable part of Upper India, preaching sedition. He had been expelled from Agra

* Times, 17th January, 1859.

† Despatch to secretary to government, dated July 14th, 1857.—Parl. Papers on Mutinies (regarding Maun Sing), March 18th, 1858; p. 3.

took leave of "the considerate and noble nazim." They reached Goruckpoor in safety; and, on their way, met Sergeant Busher, who had been also saved by Meer Mehndee's adherents.

The nazim afterwards visited the mutineers at Fyzabad, to learn their plan, which was to march to the attack of Lucknow, and then proceed to Delhi. They enquired very minutely concerning certain Europeans he had harboured. The nazim declared he had only fed and rested three Europeans, and then sent them on. To this the mutineers replied—"It is well; we are glad you took care of the colonel and his family."

Colonel Lennox concludes his narrative by earnestly recommending the nazim and his nephew to the favour of the British government. He had refrained from any description of his own sufferings, or those of his companions; but he evidently could not acknowledge the gratitude due to a fellow-creature, without making reverent mention of the merciful Providence which had supported, and eventually carried him through, perils under which the majority of his fellow-officers had sunk, though they were mostly young, strong, and unencumbered by the care of weak and defenceless women. His party escaped without a hair of their heads being injured. There is something very impressive in the quiet dignity with which Colonel Lennox declares—"Throughout this severe trial, I have found the promise fulfilled to me and to my family, 'And as thy day, so shall thy strength be.'"*

The last Europeans left at Fyzabad, were the wife and children of Major Mill. For some unexplained cause, Mrs. Mill had neither accompanied the civilians to Shahgunje, nor her husband to the boats. She is alleged to have lost the opportunity of leaving the station with Colonel Lennox, from unwillingness to expose her three young children to the sun; but she subsequently made her way alone with them, wandering about for a fortnight, from village to village, till she reached Goruckpoor, where one of her little ones died of fatigue; and where, after passing through an agony of doubt, she learned at length the certainty of her widowhood.†

Sultanpoor.—This station was under the

* Further Parl. Papers (No. 4), p. 47.

† Gubbins' *Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 136.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

command of Colonel Fisher, an officer whose genial nature and keen enjoyment of field sports, had rendered him popular alike with Europeans and Natives. His own regiment (the 15th irregular horse) was posted at Sultanpoor, together with the 8th Oude infantry, under Captain W. Smith, and the 1st regiment of military police, under Captain Bunbury. Individual popularity could not, however, counteract general disaffection; and, even to its possessor, it brought dangers as well as advantages; for while the sepoys of each regiment were solicitous for, and did actually preserve, the lives of many favourite officers at the risk of their own, the worst disposed of other corps were specially anxious to remove such commanders as might influence the more moderate to repentance, and, at the same time, to compromise the entire Bengal army by implication in the commission of crimes which the majority had in all probability never contemplated. Colonel Fisher was not taken by surprise. He anticipated the coming outbreak, and sent off the ladies and children, on the night of the 7th of June, towards Allahabad, under care of Dr. Corbyn and Lieutenant Jenkyns. Three of the ladies (Mrs. Goldney, Mrs. Block, and Mrs. Stroyan) became separated from the rest, and were taken to the neighbouring fort of Amethie, where they were protected by Rajah Bainie Madhoo Sing; by whom, the Oude commissioner states, "they were very kindly treated. Madhoo," he adds, "sent us in their letters to Lucknow; furnished them with such comforts as he could procure himself; took charge of the articles which we wished to send; and, after sheltering the ladies for some days, forwarded them in safety to Allahabad. The rest of the party, joined by Lieutenant Grant, assistant-commissioner, found refuge for some days with a neighbouring zemindar, and were by him escorted in safety to Allahabad."‡ This testimony is very strongly in favour of a rajah, whose fort, after being the sanctuary of Englishwomen in their deepest need, was soon to be besieged by the British commander-in-chief in person, and its master driven into exile and outlawry. The cause of this change is alleged to have been one which those who have watched the working of the centralisation system in India, will find little difficulty in understanding. It is not only that the left hand does not know what the right hand is doing, but that the head,

their weapons were in good order. They are described as having "behaved, for the most part, in the kindest manner to the wounded Europeans; taking up great numbers of them, and leaving their own wounded uncared-for on the battle-field. They had been suspected of being also tainted with the general disaffection, and were, therefore, anxious to regain the esteem and confidence of their European officers. They gave, indeed, the most striking proofs of their fidelity and loyalty on that day, showering volleys of musketry and (native like) of abuse on their assailants."*

On nearing the Kookrail bridge, a new danger presented itself. The road in front was seen to be occupied by a body of the rebel cavalry.† The guns were unlimbered, with the intention of pouring in a few rounds of grape on the enemy; but it was ascertained that not a single round of ammunition remained. The preparatory movement, however, produced the desired effect; the enemy hesitated, and, when charged by Captain Rattray and the handful of volunteers under his command, abandoned their position, and, ceasing to obstruct the road, contented themselves with harassing the rear of the retreating troops, whom they pursued even to the iron bridge near the Residency. Sir Henry Lawrence was seen in the most exposed parts of the field, riding about, giving directions, or speaking words of encouragement amidst a terrific fire of grape, round shot, and musketry, which struck down men at every step. While riding by his side, Captain James was shot through the thigh. Sir Henry remained untouched; but he must have suffered as only so good a man could, in witnessing the scene around him. Forgetful of himself, conscious only of the danger and distress of the troops, at the moment of the crisis near the Kookrail bridge, when his little force appeared about to be overwhelmed by the dead weight of opposing numbers, he wrung his hands in agony, and exclaimed, "My God, my God! and I brought them to this!"

Perhaps that bitter cry was heard and

* Rees' *Siege of Lucknow*, p. 78.

† According to Mr. Rees, the masses of rebel cavalry by which the British were outflanked near the Kookrail bridge, were "apparently commanded by some European, who was seen waving his sword, and attempting to make his men follow him and dash at ours. He was a handsome-looking man, well-built, fair, about twenty-five years of age, with

answered, uttered as it was by the lips of one whose character for Christian excellence stood unequalled among public-men in India. At least, the retreat of the exhausted force from the Kookrail bridge to Lucknow, under all the circumstances of the case, is one of the most marvellous incidents in the insurrection. On approaching the suburbs, the natives, men, women, and children, rich and poor, crowded round the weary and wounded fugitives, bringing water in cool porous vessels, which was thankfully accepted, and greedily swallowed.

The news of the disaster had reached the city as early as 9 A.M.; a number of the recreant Seik cavalry, and artillery drivers, having crossed the iron bridge at that hour, their horses covered with foam, and they themselves terrified, but not one of them wounded. The commissioner asked them reproachfully why they had fled. They replied only, that the enemy had surrounded them. Half-an-hour later, a messenger who had been sent to gain information, returned to Lucknow, bearing Sir Henry Lawrence's sword scabbard, and a message that he was unhurt. Shortly after the troops arrived; and then, as the wounded men lay faint and bleeding in the porch of the Residency, the horrors of war burst at once on the view of the British at Lucknow. The banqueting-hall was converted into an hospital; and instead of music and merriment, the wail of the widow, shrieks wrung from brave strong men by excruciating physical suffering, and the dull death-rattle, were heard on every side. The total loss, on the side of the British, consisted of—Europeans, 112 killed, and 44 wounded; Natives—nearly 200 killed and missing: only eleven wounded returned to the city. Besides the howitzer, we lost three field-pieces, with almost all the ammunition waggons of our native guns. No estimate could be formed of the loss of the enemy; but the total number engaged was calculated at 5,550 infantry, 800 cavalry, and 160 artillery.‡ These were the regiments which had mutinied at Fyzabad, Seetapoor, Sultanpoor, Secrora, Gondah,

light mustachies, wearing the undress uniform of a European cavalry officer, with a blue and gold-laced cap on his head." Mr. Rees suggests the possibility of this personage being "a Russian: one suspected to be such had been seized by the authorities, confined, and then released;"—or "a renegade Christian."—*Siege of Lucknow*, p. 76.

‡ Gubbins' *Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 150.

do his duty. May the Lord have mercy on his soul!"*

The words are very touching, when considered as the utterance of the man who will go down to posterity as the pacificator of the Punjab,† and to whose prudence, energy, and foresight, despite the disaster at Chinhut, the gallant survivors of the Lucknow garrison consider their success mainly attributable.‡ Indeed (in the emphatic words of Brigadier Inglis), but for the foresight and precautions of Henry Lawrence, every European in Lucknow might have slept in a bloody shroud.

Half-an-hour before Sir Henry's death, his nephew was shot through the shoulder, in the verandah. Mrs. Harris, the wife of the Residency chaplain, writes in her diary—"I have been nursing him to-day, poor fellow! It was so sad to see him lying there in the room with his uncle's body; looking so pale, and suffering." In the course of a few hours it became necessary to remove the corpse; and one of the soldiers called in for the purpose, lifting the sheet from the face, bent over and kissed it reverently. No military honours marked the funeral. A hurried prayer was read amidst the booming of cannon and the fire of musketry; and the remains of the good and great man were lowered into a pit, with several other lowlier companions in arms.

The death of Sir Henry Lawrence was kept secret for many days: he was even

reported to be recovering; but, at last, the truth could no longer be concealed; and the tidings were "received throughout the garrison with feelings of consternation only second to the grief which was inspired in the hearts of all, by the loss of a public benefactor and a warm personal friend."§

A well-known Indian journal (*the Friend of India*) writes—"The commissioner of Oude died, not before he had breathed into his little garrison somewhat of his own heroic spirit. Great actions are contagious, and gladly would they have died for him; but it was not so to be; henceforth they will live only for vengeance." The English at Lucknow happily understood the spirit of their beloved chief much better. They had recognised in him a Christian, not an Homeric hero; and the pursuit of vengeance, "the real divinity of the *Iliad*," was, they well knew, utterly incompatible with the forgiving spirit which Sir Henry uniformly advocated as the very essence of vital Christianity. In fact, his true vocation was that of a lawgiver and an administrator, not a subjugator; his talent lay in preventing revolt, rather than in crushing it with the iron heel of the destroyer. Lord Canning|| showed considerable appreciation of Sir Henry Lawrence, when he dwelt on his loss as one which equally affected the Europeans and natives. This was true when it was written, in the very height of the struggle; but it is more striking now,

* See descriptive letterpress, by Mr. Couper (Sir Henry Lawrence's secretary), to Lieutenant Clifford H. Meham's charming *Sketches of Lucknow*.

† "What the memory of Tod is in Rajast'han—what Macpherson was to the Khonds, Outram to the Bheels, Napier to the Beloochees—that, and more, was Henry Lawrence to the fierce and haughty Seiks."—*Westminster Review*, October, 1858.

‡ See Gubbins, Rees, Polehampton, Case, &c.

§ Brigadier Inglis's despatch, Sept. 26th, 1857.

|| There is not, I am sure, an Englishman in India who does not regard the loss of Sir Henry Lawrence, in the present circumstances of the country, as one of the heaviest of public calamities. There is not, I believe, a native of the provinces where he has held authority, who will not remember his name as that of a friend and generous benefactor to the races of India."—[Lord Canning to the Court of Directors, Sept. 8th, 1857]. Lord Stanley, too, has borne high testimony to the rare merits of Sir Henry Lawrence. At a meeting held to promote the endowment of the schools founded by him for the education of soldiers' children at Kussowlie and Mount Aboo—the "two elder daughters," whose permanent establishment had been one main reason for his prolonged abode in India—Lord Stanley said—"Sir Henry Lawrence rose to eminence step by step, not by favour of any man, certainly not

by subserviency either to ruling authorities or to popular ideas; but simply by the operation of that natural law which in troubled times brings the strongest mind, be it where it may, to the post of highest command. I knew Sir H. Lawrence six years ago. Travelling in the Punjab, I passed a month in his camp, and it then seemed to me, as it does now, that his personal character was far above his career, eminent as that career has been. If he had died a private and undistinguished person, the impress of his mind would still have been left on all those who came personally into contact with him. I thought him, as far as I could judge, sagacious and far-seeing in matters of policy; and I had daily opportunity of witnessing, even under all the disadvantages of a long and rapid journey, his constant assiduity in the dispatch of business. But it was not the intellectual qualities of the man which made upon me the deepest impression. There was in him a rare union of determined purpose, of moral as well as physical courage, with a singular frankness and a courtesy of demeanour which was something more than we call courtesy; for it belonged not to manners, but to mind—a courtesy shown equally to Europeans and natives. Once know him, and you could not imagine him giving utterance to any sentiment which was harsh, or petty, or self-seeking."—*Times*, Feb. 8th, 1858.

It is evident that the aid by which Sir Hugh and the English hoped to be enabled to tide over the expected crisis, was looked for from the chief, styled, in a foregoing despatch, the Maharajah of Bithoor. It is no small compliment to the native character, that, however little it may have been praised in words; in deeds, great reliance has been placed on allies, whose fidelity has been subjected to severe trials. In the present instance, implicit trust was evinced in the co-operation of one who notoriously considered himself an ill-used and aggrieved person, and who had lavished large sums of money in endeavouring to obtain, in England, the reversal of what he, and probably a large body of his countrymen, considered to be the unjust decision of the Indian government.

Dhoondia Rao Punt, commonly called the Nana Sahib (the son of a Brahmin), was adopted by the ex-Peishwa, Bajee Rao, in 1827, being then between two and three years of age. Bajee Rao died in January, 1851; and Nana Rao claimed from the British government the continuance of the pension of £80,000 a-year, granted as the condition of his adopted father's abdication of the sovereignty of Poona in 1818. The question here is not one of adoption; for had the Peishwa left issue of his own body, male and legitimate, the terms of the treaty of 1818 would not have warranted a demand, as of right, for the continuance of the stipend, of which a singular combination of circumstances had necessitated the concession. The treaty, framed by Sir John Malcolm, stipulated for the surrender of the person of Bajee Rao within twenty-four hours, and for the formal surrender of all political power to the British.

"The fourth article declares, that Bajee Rao shall, on his voluntarily agreeing to this arrangement, receive a liberal pension from the Company's government, for the support of *himself and his family*. The amount of this pension will be fixed by the governor-general; but Brigadier-general Malcolm takes upon himself to engage that it shall not be less than eight lacs of rupees per annum."*

Malcolm was much blamed for having named so large a sum as the minimum, and the Company most reluctantly redeemed the pledge he had given on their behalf:

* Kaye's *Life of Malcolm*, vol. ii., p. 254.

† Letter to Mr. Adam—*Ibid.*, p. 258.

‡ Letter to Sir Thomas Munro—*Ibid.*, p. 257.

but he maintained, that the stipend, "though princely for the support of Bajee Rao, his family, and numerous adherents, was nothing for purposes of ambition;" and that if "he had been reduced to a condition in point of allowances, respectability, and liberty, that degraded him in his own mind and that of others, he might have asked himself, 'Where can I be worse?'"†

Again, Malcolm asserts, that the Peishwa was neither destitute of the means of protracting the contest, nor disposed to throw himself unconditionally on the British government; and, after detailing his position and resources, he adds—"The article I purchased was worth the price I paid; I could not get it cheaper."‡ On various grounds he vindicates the policy of liberal dealing with the dethroned prince—namely, on account of "our own dignity, considerations for the feelings of Bajee Rao's adherents, and for the prejudices of the natives of India. We exist on impression; and, on occasions like this, where all are anxious spectators, we must play our part well, or we should be hissed."

In all the discussions regarding the stipend, it is evident that it was regarded simply as a life pension, and that the question of its continuance to the family was never entertained. But, nevertheless, the Indian authorities of that day—Lord Hastings, Adam, Elphinstone, and, most of all, Malcolm—would have been painfully surprised, could they have supposed that, on the death of the man known to them as the "first Hindoo prince in India," a governor-general would be found to declare that "the Peishwa's family have no claim upon the government, and that he would by no means consent to any portion of the public money being conferred on it." Yet this decision Lord Dalhousie pronounced without reference to the Court of Directors, who had, some years before, in answer to an application from the Peishwa on the subject of his family, simply deferred the consideration of the claim.

It is true that Bajee Rao had enjoyed his princely stipend much longer than could have been reasonably anticipated, considering that he was a man of feeble constitution and dissolute habits, far advanced in years at the time of his surrender. He made considerable savings, and actually assisted the government with the loan of six lacs, at the time of the

survive it. My post, and that of my officers, being with the colours of the regiment, in the last extremity some or all of us must needs be killed. If that should be my fate, you and all my friends will know, I trust, that I die in the execution of my duty. But I do not think they will venture to attack the intrenched position, which is held by the European troops. So I hope in God that my wife and child may be saved."

It appears from the narrative of Lieutenant Delafosse, that the Nana did not proffer, but was asked for assistance; whereupon "he sent some 200 cavalry, 400 infantry, and two guns, which force had the guarding of the treasury."* The Nana either accompanied or followed his troops to Cawnpoor, and took up his residence in a house not far from that abandoned by the collector. Lieutenant Thomson remarks—"His visit was made at the request of the resident magistrate; and such was the confidence placed in this infernal traitor, that the whole of the treasure (upwards of £100,000) was placed under his protection."† It appears, however, that General Wheeler did make the attempt, mentioned by Colonel Ewart as intended, for the removal of the treasure, and that he failed on this and previous occasions, from the determined resolve of the troops not to submit to what they chose to call a mark of distrust.‡ A lac of rupees

was, however, obtained and carried away to the intrenchments, under the plea of meeting the salaries of the troops and other current expenses.§

On the morning of the 4th of June, Sir Hugh Wheeler received information regarding the 2nd cavalry and 1st and 56th N.I., which induced him to order the European officers thereof to discontinue sleeping in the lines; but the 53rd N.I. being considered loyal, the officers were to remain at night with that corps. By this time the trenches were finished, the guns in position, and provisions for 1,000 persons, for twenty-five days, were declared to be in store.

It appears, however, owing to carelessness or knavery, that the quantity actually supplied fell far short of the indents. At 2 A.M. on the 6th of June,|| the 2nd cavalry rose together with a great shout, mounted their horses, and set fire to the bungalow of their quartermaster. The main body then proceeded towards the commissariat cattle-yard, and took possession of the government elephants, thirty-six in number; at the same time setting fire to the cattle-sergeant's dwelling. A few of the ring-leaders went to the lines of the 1st N.I., and persuaded the men—who, it is said, "were mostly young recruits, the old hands being away on leave or on command"—¶—to join in the mutiny. Either Colonel Ewart

* *Times*, October 15th, 1857.

† Letter to the *Times*, dated September 8th, 1858.

‡ See Account of Nerput, opium gomashita, or broker.—Further Parl. Papers, p. 51.

§ Accounts of Nerput and of Mr. Shepherd.

|| See Further Parl. Papers (No. 7), p. 130. The various accounts of the Cawnpoor mutiny and massacre differ considerably, sometimes in material points. The weightiest authorities are of course the telegrams and despatches written by Sir Hugh Wheeler, and the officers serving under him, to the Calcutta and Lucknow governments. The next in value are the testimonies of Lieutenants (now Captains) Thomson and Delafosse, published in letters of various dates in the *Times*. Mrs. Murray, another survivor (the widow of the band-sergeant of the 56th N.I., who perished at Cawnpoor, as did also her brother and two sons), has given a very circumstantial version (see *Times*, September 3rd, 1858) of what she saw and heard, which was "put into shape" for her by a literary gentleman; and is, Mr. Russell declares, "fiction founded on fact." That it is not Mrs. Murray's own inditing, is evident from the stilted and highly coloured style. A sergeant's wife would hardly talk of "Tartaric barbarity," or remark that, on "the arrival of General Havelock, the cowardly miscreants of Cawnpoor disappeared like stars at dawn of day, and the Nana Sour [Nana the pig] disappeared like a comet." In this case, as in most others of mingled fact and fiction, the latter predominates so largely as to neutralise the former:

and even independently of the internal evidence of the account, the contradiction given by Lieutenant Thomson to several of Mrs. Murray's most positive assertions regarding matters which she speaks of in the character of an eye-witness, quite invalidates her authority. Then there is the clear and connected account of Mr. Shepherd, an uncovenanted servant of the Company, and probably an Eurasian. His testimony is of considerable value as regards what he actually witnessed; but the value of his statements is diminished by his failing to separate information which he has acquired from personal observation, from that which he has accepted on hearsay. (Further Parl. Papers, No. 4; pp. 174 to 185). The same remark applies to the story of Nerput, an opium gomashita, in the service of the E. I. Company, whose deposition was received by Colonel Neill, and forwarded by him to the Supreme government. (See Further Parl. Papers (not numbered), pp. 51 to 53). The diary of the "Nunna" nawab (a native of rank residing in Cawnpoor), is another document transmitted by the governor-general for the perusal of the home authorities (Further Parl. Papers, No. 7; pp. 133 to 138); together with a "Narrative of the Mutiny at Cawnpoor," drawn up apparently as an official summary, and already largely quoted. (*Ibid.*, pp. 129 to 133). An Eurasian girl, supposed at first to have perished, and one or two others, have likewise furnished some additional particulars.

¶ Mr. Shepherd's *Account of the Outbreak*.

The loss sustained by the British is not recorded. Several men had fallen from sun-stroke—a calamity of daily occurrence; and all were nearly prostrated by fatigue. At mid-day, when the action was over, one of the ammunition waggons exploded; and the rebels perceiving their advantage, directed a heavy fire against the spot, to hinder the Europeans from approaching to prevent the flames from spreading to the other waggons. In the midst of the cannonading, Lieutenant Delafosse approached the burning mass, laid himself down beneath it, pulled away the loose splinters, and flung earth on the flames. Two soldiers brought him buckets of water, which he threw around him; and, while the vessels were being refilled from the drinking-water of the men close by, he continued to throw earth on the burning waggon, with six cannon directed on the spot. The brave officer and his men accomplished their object, and escaped unhurt.*

The prisoners in the trenches were not the only sufferers. Besides several Europeans captured in the city, and the majority of the Christians (whether Eurasians or natives), many Hindoos and Mohammedans suspected of aiding or serving the British force, were put to death. A list was made of all the bankers, who were mulct of their wealth, and property of every description was plundered or wantonly destroyed.† Any attempt to carry intelligence or supplies to the besieged, was punished with death or mutilation; and, indeed, since the reoccupation of Cawnpoor, about twelve natives have proved, to the satisfaction of government, their claim to a pension, on the ground of having suffered mutilation of the hand or nose (and, in some instances, of both), by order of the Nana or his diabolical lieutenant, Azim Oollah, for bringing supplies to the British camp.‡ Sir Hugh Wheeler, in a letter previously quoted, speaks of all the Christian population taking refuge in the intrenchment; but this could not have been

possible, on account of the extremely limited space. The official, or semi-official, account states, that “there was a large number of Europeans resident in cantonments, many of whom were individuals connected with the civil, railway, canal, and other departments. There were, also, nearly the whole of the soldiers’ families of H.M. 32nd, which was stationed at Lucknow. The whole number of the European population, therefore, in Cawnpoor—men, women, and children—could not have amounted to less than 750 lives.” The number of Eurasians, of pensioners and natives attached to the British, within the camp, is nowhere officially stated;|| those who resided in the city, or were excluded from the intrenchment for want of space, were among the earliest of the Nana’s victims.

Lieutenant Delafosse has recorded some terrible scenes, to which he was an eyewitness during the siege; his only consolation under such distressing circumstances being, that he had no relatives, especially no female relatives, to grieve or tremble for. He describes one poor woman, named White, as walking in the trenches beside her husband, carrying her twin infants. The party was fired on, the father killed, and the mother’s arms were both broken. The children fell to the ground, one of them wounded; and the mother flung herself on the ground beside them. Again—an ayah, who had remained with her mistress, was sitting, as she thought, safely under the walls of the barrack, when suddenly she was knocked over by a round shot, and both her legs carried away. The child, though hurled from her arms, was taken up uninjured.

One poor lady was hit by a ball, which entered the face near the nostril, and passed through the palate and jaw. Her daughter, also severely injured in the shoulder, forgetting her own suffering, was seen striving to alleviate the greater agony endured by her mother. They both died from their wounds.¶ Notwithstanding all this misery, we are assured “there was not one

* Mr. Shepherd’s *Account*. Lieutenant Delafosse, in his narrative (*Times*, October 15th, 1857), omits all mention of this heroic and effective service.

† Statement forwarded by Supreme government of India to Court of Directors.

‡ Russell.—*Times*, February 24th, 1859.

§ Statement forwarded by Supreme government to Court of Directors.

|| Mr. Shepherd, writing from memory, gives the following classification of the besieged, whose total number he places at 900. The European

troops (already enumerated) he estimates at 210; officers of the three Native infantry, cavalry, and others, with the staff, 100; merchants, writers, and others, about 100; drummers, about 40; women and children of soldiers, about 160; women of writers, merchants, and drummers, 120; ladies and children of officers, 50; servants, cooks, and others, after a great number had absconded on hearing the enemy’s guns firing, 100; sick sepoys and Native officers who remained with us, 20.

¶ Statement of Lieutenant Thomson.

CAWNPOOR INTRENCHMENT—JUNE 24TH, 1857.

It was too true. Sir Hugh Wheeler, with his brave and gentle companions, had indeed given themselves over into the hand of their deadly foe. Sir Henry Lawrence at once anticipated treachery; and, judging by the event, it would have been better to have held out to the last extremity, and to have starved within the trenches, or been shot down or cut in pieces there, than to have capitulated to such pitiless wretches as the besiegers subsequently proved themselves to be. At that time, however, no one had any adequate conception of the ruthlessness of the monster with whom they had to do. Mr. Shepherd mentions some interesting particulars regarding the crisis of the siege, in the *Account* already quoted.

"Many persons [he states] were exceedingly anxious to get out of the intrenchment and go into the city, thinking, from want of better information, that they would be very secure there: in fact, several went out quietly in the night under this impression, and, as I afterwards learnt, were murdered by the rebels.

"Among others, my own family (consisting of wife and a daughter, my infant daughter having died from a musket-shot in the head on the 18th), two nieces, Misses Frost and Batavia, both of seventeen years of age, a sister, and her infant son, a brother twenty-two years old, and two old ladies, wished very much to leave, but could not do so on account of our large number. It was therefore considered expedient that one should go and ascertain how matters stood in the city.

"With this view I applied to the general, on the 24th of June, for permission to go, at the same time offering to bring him all the current information that I might collect in the city, asking, as a condition, that on my return, if I should wish it, my family might be allowed to leave the intrenchment. This my request was granted, as the general wished very much to get such information, and for which purpose he had previously sent out two or three natives at different times, under promises of high rewards, but who never returned. He at the same time instructed me to try and negotiate with certain influential parties in the city, so as to bring about a rupture among the rebels, and cause them to leave off annoying us, authorising me to offer a lac of rupees as a reward, with handsome pensions for life, to any person who would bring about such a thing. This, I have every reason to think, could have been carried out successfully; but it was not so ordained (it was merely a means, under God's providence, to save me from sharing the fate of the rest); for as I came out of the intrenchment disguised as a native cook, and passing through the new unfinished barracks, had not gone very far when I was taken a prisoner, and under custody of four sepoys and a couple of sowars, all well armed, was escorted to the camp of the Nana, and was ordered to be placed under a

guard: here several questions were put to me concerning our intrenchment (not by the Nana himself, but by some of his people), to all of which I replied as I was previously instructed by our general; for I had taken the precaution of asking him what I should say in case I was taken. My answers were not considered satisfactory, and I was confronted with two women-servants who three days previously had been caught in making their escape from the intrenchment, and who gave a version of their own, making it appear that the English were starving and not able to hold out much longer, as their number was greatly reduced. I, however, stood firm to what I had first mentioned, and they did not know which party to believe. However, they let us alone. I was kept under custody up to the 12th of July, on which date my trial took place, and I was sentenced to three years' imprisonment in irons, with hard labour, from which I was released by the European troops on the morning of the 17th idem."

It is not surprising that the unfortunate besieged should have been anxious to escape from their filthy prison at almost any hazard. The effect of the intense heat was aggravated by the stench arising from the dead bodies of horses and other animals, which could not be removed; and the influx of flies added to the loathsomeness of the scene. Five or six men fell daily beneath sun-stroke; but women and children sickened and died faster still in an atmosphere saturated with pestilential vapours.

Shepherd says that, on the 24th of July, "there were provisions yet left to keep the people alive, on half rations, for the next fifteen or twenty days. Of grain† we had a large quantity, and it formed the principal food of all the natives with us, which they preferred to otta and dholl, as it gave them no trouble as regards cooking; for a little soaking in water was sufficient to make it fit to eat; and many scrupulous Hindoos lived the whole period entirely upon it."

James Stewart, a pensioner, formerly a Christian drummer in the 56th N.I., says, that he and the other drummers of the three regiments were charged with the removal of the dead, and received for their subsistence gram and a glass of brandy daily. "The only article of food was gram, which was steeped in four buckets, and placed in such a position that all could help themselves." He also bears witness to the "hourly encouragement" given to the besieged by General Wheeler.‡

Natives might exist where Europeans would perish of inanition. This was the Book (Further Papers, No. 4, p. 181), as "grain," a blunder which involves a material mis-statement as regards the position of the besieged. † Deposition of James Stewart.—*Friend of India*, August 27th, 1857.

* Shepherd's *Brief Account of the Outbreak at Cawnpoor*.—Further Parl. Papers (No. 4, 1857), pp. 173 to 183.
† Gram is a coarse kind of grain, commonly used for feeding horses. The word is given in the Blue

by grief for those whom they expected to leave behind in that terrible burying-place the dry well. They little thought how soon their own bleeding bodies would find a similar destination.

Of those whose names have been mentioned in the course of the narrative, few, if any, but must have lost some dear friend or relative. The son of the general (Lieutenant Godfrey Richard Wheeler, of the 1st N.I.) had been killed by a round shot, while lying wounded by his mother's side;* Mrs. Ewart had seen her husband badly wounded, and her friend (Mrs. Hillersdon) sink, with her child, of fever and exhaustion; Brigadier Jack had died of fever, and Sir George Parker, Bart. (magistrate), of sun-stroke. The total number of those who had perished is not recorded; but Lieutenant Thomson states positively, "we lost 250 men in the intrenchment, principally by shells;" and women and children fell by this means, as well as by disease. Probably, therefore, not half the number of Europeans (750) who had entered the intrenchment, left it on the fatal morning of the 27th of June; and of the number of half-castes and natives who perished with and for the Europeans, no estimate has been formed.† It was about 8 A.M. when the British reached the landing-place, situated a mile and a-half from the station. Breakfast was laid out as had been arranged, and the embarkation was carried on without hindrance or hesitation. The Europeans laid down their muskets, and took off their coats. Some of the boats (thirty in all) pushed off from the shore; and the others were striving to get free from the sand in which they had been purposely imbedded, when, at a prearranged signal, the boatmen sprang into the water, leaving fire in the thatches of the boats; and two guns, before hidden, were run out and opened on the Europeans. The men, says Lieutenant Delafosse, jumped out of the boats; and, instead of trying to free them from their moorings, swam to the first boat they saw loose. A remark in Lieutenant Thomson's narrative shows that the attempt was unsuccessfully made. He states—"When the boat I first took shelter in was fired, I jumped out, with the rest, into the water, and tried to drag her off the sand-bank, but to no purpose; so I deserted her, and made across the river to the Oude side, where I

saw two of our boats." A third boat got safe over to the opposite side of the river; but all three were met there by two field-pieces, guarded by a number of cavalry and infantry. One of these boats was early swamped, and a round shot went through the second of them before it had proceeded a mile down the stream. The passengers were then taken on board the third boat, which, with a freight of fifty persons, continued its way for five or six miles, followed, on the Oude side, by about 2,000 mutineers (infantry and cavalry), with two guns. Captains Moore and Ashe (the leaders of the defence), Lieutenant-colonel Wiggins, and Lieutenants Burney, Glanville, Satchwell, and Basilico, were killed; Major Vibart, Captain Turner, Lieutenants Thomson, Fagan, Mainwaring, and a youth named Henderson, were wounded. The boat grounded about nightfall; but the Europeans managed to get once more afloat, and to distance their pursuers, who followed along shore with torches and lighted arrows, trying to set the boat on fire; and so nearly succeeding, that the Europeans were compelled to throw overboard the thatched covering which had shielded them from the sun and rain. On the following day the boat again grounded on a sand-bank at Nujffghur; and here Captain Whiting, Lieutenant Harrison, and several privates were killed. Captain Turner was hit a second time. Captain Seppings was wounded, as was also his wife (the only female mentioned as having accompanied this party), and Lieutenants Daniel and Quin. A storm came on, and drove the boat down stream, until it again stuck at Soorajpoor, where, at daylight on the Monday morning, the fugitives were discovered and attacked by the retainers of a hostile zemindar. Lieutenants Thomson and Delafosse, with twelve men, went on shore to drive back their assailants, and thus enable their companions to get off the boat. This they did most effectually; but, proceeding too far inland, they were surrounded, and, being hotly pressed, lost sight of the boat, and were forced to take refuge in a small temple on the river-bank. At the door of the temple one of the party was killed: the remaining thirteen, after vainly attempting a parley, had recourse to their firelocks, and several of the enemy were soon killed or put *hors de*

* *Memoir of Rev. H. S. Polehampton*, p. 315.

† "It is reported that the persons who came out that morning from the intrenchment, amounted to

450."—*Shepherd's Account*. How many Eurasians or natives may have been included in the capitulation, is matter of conjecture.

Sahib, who has made the name of our Pultun great, and whose son is our quarter-master; neither will we shoot the other gentlemen [sahib-logue]: put them in prison." But the Oude sepoy said, "Put them in prison? No; we will kill them all." The male Europeans were then made to sit on the ground, and two companies of sepoy prepared to fire on them, when one of the ladies (the wife of either the superintending surgeon or medical storekeeper) rushed to her husband, and sitting down beside him, placed her arm round his waist, declaring, that if he must die, she would die with him. The other ladies followed her example; and all sat down close to their husbands, who said, "Go, go;" and vainly strove to drive their wives away. The Nana then directed the sepoy to part them by force, which was done; "but they could not pull away the doctor's wife, who there remained. Then, just as the sepoy were going to fire, the padre [Moncrieff] was dead] called out to the Nana, and requested leave to read prayers before they died. The Nana granted it, and the padre's bonds were loosed so far as to allow him to take a small book from his pocket, from which he read; but at this time one of the sahibs, who was shot in the arm and leg, kept crying out to the sepoy, 'If you mean to kill us, why don't you set about it; be quick, and get the work done at once; why delay?' After the padre read a few prayers, he shut the book, and the sahibs shook hands all round. Then the sepoy fired. One sahib rolled one way, and one another; but they were not dead, only wounded. Then they went and finished them with their swords." After this, the whole of the women and children, including those taken out of the other boats, to the number of 122, were taken away to the house formerly used by the Europeans as an hospital, and afterwards inhabited by the Nana.

Myoor Tewarree was asked, "Were any of the women dishonoured?" He replied, "No, none that I am aware of, except in the case of General Wheeler's younger daughter; and about her I am not certain. When the rebels were taking the mem-sahibs out of the boat, a sowar (cavalry man) took her away with him to his house.

She went quietly; but at night she rose and got hold of the sowar's sword. He was asleep; his wife, his son, and his mother-in-law were sleeping in the house with him. She killed them all with the sword, and then she went and threw herself down the well behind the house. In the morning, when people came and found the dead in the house, the cry was, 'Who has done this?' Then a neighbour said, that in the night he had seen some one go and throw himself into the well. They went and looked, and there was Missce Baba, dead and swollen."

That a young girl should kill two men and two women with a sword, is so glaringly improbable, that the wide circulation of this story, and its repeated assertion as a fact,† only proves the credulity with which all rumours, however wild and improbable, are received when they fall in with the prevailing tone of the public mind. But the evidence of another survivor and eye-witness of the Cawnpoor massacre, corroborates the first part of the story, as regards the seizure of Miss Wheeler by a trooper. Towards the end of the year 1858, a half-caste Christian, named Fitchett, or Fitchelt, presented himself to the local authorities at Meerut, as a candidate for admission into the police levy. The usual inquiries into his antecedents, led to the discovery that, when the mutiny broke out at Cawnpoor, he had been a musician in the band of one of the native regiments, and his life had been spared in consequence of his proclaiming his willingness to embrace Mohammedanism, which he did by an easy process, almost on the spot. He was enrolled in the rebel force, and witnessed the second massacre—that of the women and children—on the 16th of July; which cannot be narrated until the events which precipitated, if they did not cause it, have been told, and likewise the arrival of the Futtehghur fugitives, to swell the list of the Nana's victims. When the Nana fled to Futtehghur, Fitchett accompanied him thither; and he declares that he frequently saw Miss Wheeler; that she travelled with a trooper who had taken her from Cawnpoor; and that he was shown into the room where she was, and ordered to read extracts from the English newspapers, which the rebels received from

* Evidence taken at the Cawnpoor camp, August 15th, 1857.—*Friend of India*, September 3rd, 1857.

† Shepherd states, that a young lady, "reported to be General Wheeler's daughter," had been seized by a sowar, and killed four persons and herself: but

his giving this as a matter of fact, detracts from the value of his general evidence, except regarding matters which he actually witnessed; and he was a prisoner at the time of both the first and second Cawnpoor massacres.

In vain the leading men in the North-Western Provinces had combined in reiterating in successive telegrams—“*Time is everything.*” “*Spare no expense in sending reinforcements to Allahabad and Cawnpoor.*” The Supreme government moved with the utmost deliberation, maintaining, to the last possible moment, the position of dignified incredulity with which they had received the information of mutiny at Barrackpoor in the early spring of 1857; treating the most reasonable alarm as “a groundless panic,” and being beaten inch by inch off the field of indolent security; even the capture and retention of Delhi by the rebels, being insufficient to rouse them to the conviction of the imminent danger of the Europeans at other stations, especially those most richly stored and weakly defended. The wretched incapacity manifested at Meerut, was at length appreciated at Calcutta, and General Hewitt was superseded. Now, it is pretty generally admitted, that had either of the Lawrences, Montgomery or Colvin, Herbert, Edwardes, or Nicholson—anybody acquainted with the native character, whether pro-native or anti-native in their tone—been in authority at Meerut, that cruel court-martial sentence would never have been ratified; and the presiding officer would not have written to a friend that night—“The court is over, and those fellows have got ten years a-piece. You will hear of no more mutinies.”* These flippant words stand out in terrible contrast to the cries for mercy uttered by Englishmen and Englishwomen, and refused on the

plea of the tyrannical sentence, the felon’s irons; adjudged as the penalty of what they deemed devotion to religious duty and maintenance of social rights, for both are united in that much misapplied word—caste.

The Calcutta despatches prove that the authorities there were not blind to the infatuation which produced the Meerut outbreak, or the incapacity which prevented its suppression. The “thirty troopers who revolutionised India,” became a bye-word; and the Meerut authorities were severely censured for not instantly sending off a portion of the European troops, if not to maintain Delhi, at least to rescue their countrywomen and the children. Yet the Indian journals assert, that the blame attached to the Meerut authorities for having been so panic-struck by the effect of their own act, that they folded their hands quietly, while, as they had every reason to anticipate, a most unequal struggle was taking place within a three hours’ ride of them—is equally attributable to the Supreme government, not only for leaving Delhi without so much as a European company to close its gates, but for not sending speedy reinforcements to Cawnpoor, when, by a vigorous effort, 2,000 men might have been dispatched there in time to raise the siege and to deliver the whole beleaguered band, instead of being the immediate cause of a massacre more terrible than that already related.

From the facts enumerated in the following chapter, the reader will judge how far the Supreme government can be justly reprobated for culpable delay.

CHAPTER XII.

CALCUTTA AND BARRACKPOOR.—MAY AND JUNE, 1857.

At Calcutta, the government on the one side, and the European population and press almost unanimously on the other, took an opposite view of affairs. The governor and council disbelieved in the ex-

istence of any general disaffection either among the troops or the people, which was a natural opinion for the party responsible for having caused, or at least not striven to remove, the alleged discontent, to abide by

* See a history of the Bengal Mutinies, dated “Umballah, August, 1857,” and introduced in the *Times*, as the production of “a gentleman whose acquirements, experience, and position, admirably qualify him for the work of observation and re-

view.”—*Times*, October 24th, 1857. This authority remarks, that the Native officers who composed the court-martial were as obedient as usual, but that every one of them was said to have been murdered during the outbreak.

the writer recently quoted, smuggled in like contraband goods. "For instance," he adds, "if it were known that the *Auckland*, or some other war steamer, was bringing troops, and the public were in consequence naturally on the tiptoe of excitement respecting her, orders would be transmitted, that on the arrival of the *Auckland*, the telegraph should announce the *Sarah Sands*, or a similar *nom-de-guerre*. The ship thus came up unnoticed; the troops generally landed in the dark, and were smuggled into the fort."*

On the 24th of May, the governor-general informed Sir Henry Lawrence, in reply to his urgent solicitations on behalf of Cawnpoor, that it was impossible to place a wing of Europeans there in less time than twenty-five days.† Sir Henry was far from being convinced of the impossibility of the measure: moreover, he was not silenced by Lord Canning's explicit statement of what could and could not be done; and, on receiving it, he instantly sent off another telegram in the following words:—

"I strongly advise that as many ekkas dāks be laid as possible from Raneegunje to Cawnpoor, to bring up European troops. Spare no expense."‡

The director-general of post-offices at Raneegunje, having probably been informed of Sir Henry Lawrence's opinion, sent a telegram to Calcutta on the same day (May 26th), in which he remarks—"Ekkas are not, I think, adapted for Europeans, nor do I think that time would be gained."§

On the 27th of May, the secretary to government sent off two telegrams, each dated 8.30 p.m. One of these conveyed the thanks of the governor-general in council to Sir Hugh Wheeler, for "his very effective exertions," and assured him "that no measures had been neglected to give him aid." The other curtly informed Sir Henry Lawrence—"Every horse and carriage, bullock and cart, which could be brought upon the road, has been collected, and no means of increasing the number will be neglected."||

The special point of the previous tele-

* "One who has served under Sir Charles Napier," gives as his authority, "personal observation, the telegraphic reports, and the notice of the circumstance by the local press."—(p. 99).

† Telegram, May 24th, 1857.—Appendix to Parl. Papers on Mutiny, p. 315.

‡ Appendix to Parl. Papers on Mutiny, p. 322.

gram—namely, the ekkas—is slurred over; and it appears as if the Calcutta authorities were not a little annoyed by the perpetual jogs on the elbow of their subordinates in the North-West, and were more inclined to accept the dictum of the "post-master-general," which accorded with their own ideas of "possibility," than by strenuous efforts to comply with the earnest appeals of Sir Henry Lawrence and Sir Hugh Wheeler. Yet Lord Canning, in his instructions to the army then only advancing against Delhi, does not fail to enforce the point so vainly pressed on him. "Time is everything," he writes to the commander-in-chief, "and I beg you to make short work of Delhi." The commander-in-chief might, with good reason, have retaliated by entreating the governor-general to strengthen his hands by making "short work" of Cawnpoor.

A considerable portion of the public and press of Calcutta were extremely dissatisfied at the proceedings of the government, and severely censured the supineness to which they deemed the fate of Cawnpoor attributable, notwithstanding the unexpected detention of the Fusiliers at Allahabad.

The then acting editor of the *Friend of India*, has written a small volume on the mutiny, in which he thus states what was probably the popular view of the question:—

"A thousand English volunteer infantry, 400 cavalry, and 1,500 sailors, were at the disposal of government a week after the revolt became known. . . . The waters of the Ganges do not rise until the latter end of June; and it would have been scarcely advisable to push troops up by that route so long as there was a prospect that the vessels might get aground.

"The railway and the road offered the greatest facilities for the transit of men, guns and stores; and both were in the best condition. The line was opened to Raneegunje, 120 miles from Calcutta; and, up to that point, there was no difficulty in sending a couple of regiments by a single train. Whilst the volunteers were learning how to load and fire, and the merchant seamen were being instructed in the use of artillery, government might have placed on the road, from the terminus to Cawnpoor, a line of stations for horses and bullocks, at intervals of five miles, guarded, if necessary, by posts of armed men; the streets and the course of Calcutta could

This telegram is twice printed in the course of three pages. The first time (p. 322), the word "ekkas" (country cart) is given incorrectly; the second, it is printed as "extra"—of course entirely altering the meaning. The value of the Papers printed for Parliament is seriously diminished by the frequency of these blunders. *Ibid.*, p. 329. *Ibid.*, p. 324.

outlet for their commerce, and hope to find their hands strengthened by receiving the valuable products which she could so cheaply and so plentifully supply, provided only her rulers can manage to govern her peacefully, and employ her revenues in developing her resources, and irrigating her fertile plains with the fair water of her noble rivers, instead of deluging the land with blood and tears. An important admission was, however, made by Lord Ellenborough in speaking of a provision of the Press Act, regarding the suppression of any passage in a public journal calculated "to weaken the friendship of native princes towards us." After bearing testimony to the important results which had attended the fidelity of the rajahs of Rewah and Gwalior, the ex-governor-general added, that if the Indian newspapers, "in the spirit which too much animates persons in that country, had expressed a hope that, when our rule was re-established, there would be further and further annexations, I assure you that every part of Central India, chiefs as well as subjects, would have been in arms against us."*

The tone thus denounced had, however, been taken by many journals, and it was most necessary that Lord Canning should possess some counteracting power. The Anglo-Indian papers did not always originate incendiary articles: they occasionally copied articles issued by the London press, written hastily on a very partial and prejudiced view of the subject, and without regard to the effect likely to result from their reproduction in India. It is a fact that the Indian princes study European politics with avidity, and watch their bearing on England. Much more do they examine, through the medium of their interpreters, the language held regarding them in the English papers, and the comments made thereon by the local press.

The first despatches which conveyed to England tidings of the Meerut and Delhi catastrophe, narrated also the admirable conduct of Sindia and Holcar, of the rajahs of Bhurtpoor, Jheend, and Putteeala. An Anglo-Indian correspondent of the *Times*, mentioned the death of the ill-used Nizam,† and the accession to the musnud of his son, Afzool-ood-Dowla, a prince of thirty years of age, "born to the purple of Hyderabad,

and proportionately dull, ignorant, and sensual."

The *Times*, commenting on this information, in evident ignorance of the vital importance to the British government of the policy which might be adopted by the Hyderabad durbar, remarked—"The fact seems to be, that we have arrived at that point in our Indian career, when the total subjection of the native element, and the organisation of all that we have conquered, becomes a matter of necessity. We have gone so far in the conquest of the country, that it is now necessary to complete the task. * * * We would even hope that the death of the Nizam may be the occasion of the Deccan being brought more completely under British sovereignty. We cannot now refuse our part or change our destiny. To retain power in India, we must sweep away every political establishment and every social usage which may prevent our influence from being universal and complete."‡

In the course of another mail or two, when the extent of the danger became better understood, a different tone was adopted, as it was soon seen that the native durbar—that is to say, the Nizam, under the guidance of his able minister, Salar Jung, and his venerable uncle, Shums-ool-Omrah,§ had remained faithful to the British government, in opposition to the desire of the great mass of his fanatical Mussulman subjects.

From this and many similar circumstances, it seems evident that an imperative sense of duty was Lord Canning's motive in placing a temporary restriction on the press. The censorship was enacted only for a year, and expired then without the slightest effort being made for its renewal. Lords Elphinstone and Harris earnestly seconded its imposition; the Calcutta council were unanimous regarding its necessity: yet the great weight of censure was poured out on the governor-general, who, from being, "personally, extremely popular," and praised as "a conscientious, hard-working man, and no jobber (a wonderful merit in that country),"|| became the object of the most sweeping and unqualified animadversion. Lord Canning conducted himself with much dignity, exercising the censorship he had felt it necessary to

* Indian debate, as reported in *Times*, December 8th, 1857.

† See Introductory Chapter, p. 55.

‡ *Times*, June 29th, 1857.

§ *Ibid.*

|| Speech of the Earl of Ellenborough.—*Times*, December 8th, 1857.

circumstanced, will be called sheer infatuation, and no allowance made for circumstances under which zeal might easily outrun discretion. But let it be remembered it was their own lives, nothing more, nothing less, that they were so willing to hazard losing; and the cause, which rendered them heedless of personal danger, was an absorbing desire for the honour of their corps, the welfare of their men, and the service of their country.

And most effective has their devotion been. No mere human wisdom, under whatever specious name it may be disguised—discretion, policy, expediency—could have done what the fearless faith of these gallant sepoy leaders did to break the first shock of the mutiny, to stop a simultaneous rising, to buy, when "time was everything," a few weeks', days', hours' respite, at the cost of their life-blood. It was extreme coercion that lit the fires at Meerut and Delhi; it was extreme conciliation that saved Simla and Lucknow. If some officers carried their confidence too far, and did not see that the time for conciliatory measures had for the moment passed, it must be recollected that they could not know the full extent of the secret influences brought to bear on the minds of their men; far less could they counteract the effect of panic caused, in repeated instances, by the cruel blundering of the highest local authorities, where these happened to be incapacitated for the exercise of sound judgment, by infirmity of mind and body (as has been shown at Meerut), or by the indiscriminating rashness of a hasty spirit (as is alleged to have been the case at Benares).

The panic in the lines of the Barrackpoor sepoy, on the evening of Sunday, the 14th, was far outdone by that which seized on the minds of the Calcutta population, in anticipation of the possible consequences of the measure which, after all, was so peaceably accomplished. The fact of the sepoy having allowed themselves to be disarmed without resistance, could not be denied; but the newsmongers and alarmists made amends for having no struggle to narrate, by enlarging on the imminent danger which had been averted. An order had been given by the governor-general to

search the lines, after the disarming should have been accomplished,* for tulwars (native swords), or other weapons. Brigadier Hearsey did so, and acquainted the governor-general with the fact of the order having been obeyed. He makes no mention of any weapons having been found; but only adds—"All quiet."† The description of the condition of the troops on the following day, has been shown; as also the entreaty of the officers of the 70th N.I., for the re-arming of their regiment. Yet Dr. Duff, writing to England, says, that "when, after disarming, the sepoy's huts were searched, they were found to be filled with instruments of the most murderous description—huge knives of various shapes, two-handed swords, poniards, and battle-axes; many of the swords being serrated, and evidently intended for the perpetration of torturing cruelties on their European victims—cruelties over which, in their anticipation, these ruthless savages, while fed and nurtured by the government, had doubtless fondly gloated!"‡ Of course, the official statements since laid before parliament, prove all this to be idle rumour; but it is quoted here as showing what fables were accepted as facts, and indorsed as such by men of note in Calcutta. The Europeans, moreover, believed themselves to have escaped, by a peculiar providence, a plot laid for their destruction by some undetected Mussulman Guy Fawkes. The maharajah of Gwalior had been visiting Calcutta shortly before the mutiny, and had invited the whole European community to an exhibition of fireworks, across the river, at the Botanic Gardens. The entertainment was postponed on account of a violent storm; and it was afterwards alleged that a scheme had been thereby thwarted, of seizing that night on Fort William, and massacring the Christian community.§ New rumours of a similar character were spread abroad in every direction. As at Simla, so at Calcutta, nothing was too palpably absurd to be related and received as possible and probable. True, the year 1857 will go down to posterity as one of previously unparalleled crime and disaster. But it will also take its place as a year of "canards."

The native tendency to exaggeration and on the subject. He states that some of the conspirators underwent the penalty of death. It is strange that other writers have not mentioned so remarkable and important event, if anything of the kind really occurred.

* Further Parl. Papers, 1857 (not numbered), p. 52.

† *Ibid.*, p. 59.

‡ See Dr. Duff's *Letters on India*, p. 37.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 2. Dr. Duff speaks very decidedly

Gwalior campaign of 1843, and the Sutlej campaigns of 1845-'6; after which he became quartermaster-general, and, subsequently, adjutant-general of her Majesty's forces in India. In 1829 he married the third daughter of Dr. Marshman, the companion of the apostolic Carey in founding the Baptist Mission at Serampoor; and, in the following year, he openly joined that denomination of Christians, receiving public baptism in the manner deemed by them most scriptural. The step drew on him much ridicule from those who, having never had any deep religious convictions, could not understand their paramount influence on a loftier spirit. It was not, however, a measure likely to hinder his advancement in his profession; although, if it had been, Havelock was a brave and honest man, and much too strongly convinced of the paramount importance of things eternal, to have hazarded them for any worldly advantage. At the same time, it is certain he made no sacrifice of things temporal by allying himself with the once despised but afterwards powerful party, which exercised remarkable influence through the *Friend of India*, of which paper Dr. Marshman was the proprietor. As a boy, he is said to have been called "old Phlos" by his playfellows at the Charter-house, on account of his grave, philosophic demeanour. In after years, he delighted in expounding the Scriptures to his men, and in warning them against the besetting sins of a soldier's daily life, drunkenness and its attendant vice. His efforts were crowned with success. At a critical moment during the campaign in Burmah, Sir Archibald Campbell gave an order to a particular corps, which could not be carried out, owing to the number of men unfitted for duty by intoxication. The general was informed of the fact. "Then," said he, "call out Havelock's saints; they are never drunk, and he is always ready."*

Again—when, in 1835, Havelock sought the appointment of adjutant to the 13th light infantry, opposition was made from various quarters, on the ground that he was

a fanatic and an enthusiast. Lord William Bentinck examined the punishment roll of the regiment; and finding that the men of Havelock's company, and those who joined them in their religious exercises, were the most sober and the best-behaved in the regiment, he gave Havelock the solicited appointment; remarking, that he "only wished the whole regiment was Baptist."†

Colonel Havelock's personal habits were simple, even to austerity; and to these, but still more to his habitual trust in an overruling Providence, may be attributed the spring of energy which enabled him to declare, on the morning of his sixty-second birthday—"Nearly every hair on my head and face is as grey as my first charger; but my soul and mind are young and fresh."‡ Military honours he coveted to a degree which appears to have rendered him comparatively insensible to the horrors of war; and it is strange to contrast the irrepressible disgust with which Sir Charles Napier chronicles the scenes of slaughter through which he had cut his way to fame and fortune, with the almost unalloyed satisfaction which Havelock seems to have found in a similar career.

These two veterans (each of whom attained eminence after toiling up-hill, past the mile-stones of threescore years) have left on record widely different opinions. Napier uniformly denounced war as "hellish work."§ Havelock, "having no scruples about the compatibility of war with Christianity,"|| prayed constantly, from his school-days to advanced age, "to live to command in a successful action."¶ This single sentence, which conveys the cherished desire of a lifetime, is one of those utterances that reveal, beyond all possibility of error, the character, even the inner being, of the writer. Lord Hardinge is said to have pronounced Havelock, "every inch a soldier, and every inch a Christian."** And this praise was true in its degree; for Lord Hardinge†† measured Havelock by his own standard of Christianity; and Havelock himself steadily pursued what he believed

* Rev. William Brock's *Biographical Sketch of Sir Henry Havelock*, p. 37.

† *Ibid.*, p. 45.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

§ *Life of Sir Charles Napier*; by Sir William Napier.—Vol. iii., p. 410.

|| Rev. W. Brock's *Biographical Sketch of Sir Henry Havelock*, K.C.B.—p. 18.

¶ Letter to Mrs. Havelock; July 13th, 1857.—*Ibid.*, p. 163.

** Brock's *Havelock*.—Preface.

†† Napier writes—"Hardinge is very religious; he had prayers on the field of battle! Thou shalt not kill, is the order; and it seems strange, in the heat of disobedience, to pray and make parade."—*Life*, vol. iii., p. 368. It must, however, be remembered, that to pray to be protected in battle, and to be led into it, are totally different petitions.

children. The Cutcherry and public offices had been partially enclosed by a breast-work, and "the post guns, under a select guard, had been placed at the treasury for its defence." On the 1st of June, two warnings were secretly and separately given, by a sepoy and a pay havildar, that the grenadiers were arming with the intent of attacking the treasury. The adjutant rode down to the lines, found all quiet, and the report was disbelieved. At sunset on the 3rd, the treasure was marched off towards Benares, by two companies of the 17th, and eighty of the 13th irregular cavalry, under Lieutenant Palliser, sent to Azimghur for that purpose.* It does not seem to have occurred to the officers that the measure was likely to produce excitement or dissatisfaction. According to the statement of one of these (Lieutenant Constable, 17th N.I.), they were all at mess, and had the ladies with them, when nine o'clock struck, and two muskets were fired on parade, evidently as a signal; then, "whirr went the drums—all knew that the regiment was in revolt." The Europeans rushed from the mess-room to the Cutcherry, placed the ladies on the top of it, and directed the gunners to prepare for service. The reply was an unqualified refusal to fire themselves, or let any one fire on their countrymen. The mutineers approached with deafening shouts. The officers went to meet them. There was an interval of intense anxiety; but it was soon over. The men "behaved with romantic courtesy. They formed a square round their officers, and said they not only would not touch, but would protect them, only that there were some of the mutineers who had sworn the death of particular officers; therefore they begged the whole party to take to their carriages, and be off at once. 'But how are we to get to our carriages,' said the Europeans, 'seeing that they are scattered all through the station?' 'Ah! we will fetch them,' replied the sepoys. And so they did; and gave the party an escort for ten miles out of the station, on the road to Ghazipoor,"† which place (forty miles from Azimghur) the fugitives reached quite unmolested. The only blood shed was

that of Quartermaster Hutchinson, who was deliberately shot down by a sepoy.

The doors of the gaol were opened, and about 800 prisoners let loose to plunder the deserted European dwellings, and then to band themselves together as dacoits, and infest the country districts. The gaol and treasury guards, and the Native artillerymen with the two guns, went off with the 17th N.I., in pursuit of the treasure escort, which was soon overtaken. The two companies of the 17th immediately fraternised with the mutineers, who seized the treasure. The Irregulars would not act against their countrymen, neither would they join them, despite the temptation of sharing the plunder: on the contrary, they rallied round their officers, and brought them safely to Benares. There were in Azimghur, as in almost every other scene of mutiny, Eurasians and native Christians who were left at the mercy of the mutineers; while the Europeans, especially of the higher class, having carriages and horses, money and influence, with a numerous retinue of servants, were able to effect their escape. No English missionary was stationed here; but there was a flourishing school under the charge of Timothy Luther, a native Christian of experience, ability, and piety. Mr. Tucker took great interest both in the school and schoolmaster; and it is said that, after the mutiny, he and his family were brought away from Azimghur, where they had lain concealed, "by an escort kindly dispatched from Benares."‡ A temporarily successful attempt was made, by a private person, for the reoccupation and maintenance of the station. Mr. Venables, a wealthy indigo-planter (one of the European "interlopers" for whom the East India Company had small respect), possessed a large estate at Doorie Ghaut, twenty-two miles on the Goruckpoor side of Azimghur. He had, from the nature of his occupation, great influence with the respectable and industrious portion of the agricultural community, who had all to lose, and nothing to gain, from an irruption of revolted mercenaries and escaped convicts. The natives cheerfully rallied round him: he procured arms for their use, marched at their head, and reoccupied Azimghur, which the mutineers had already deserted. A detachment of one hundred men of the 65th N.I., and fifty of the 12th irregular cavalry, were sent to support him; and with these he held his position for some weeks, as a flood-gate against the waves of

* Report of Brigadier J. Christie.—Parl. Papers (Commons), 15th March, 1859; p. 25.

† Statement of Lieutenant Constable.—*Times*, August 6th, 1857.

‡ Rev. M. A. Sherring's *Indian Church during the Great Rebellion*, p. 283.

Meerut authorities considered that their blunder had been the salvation of India, so he thought that, "although the sepoys might have been quietly disbanded, the mistake that provoked the row was a most fortunate one." The disarming, he believes, "might have been effected in perfect peace and quietness, had it been gone about in a less abrupt and threatening manner." The 37th were drawn up in front of their lines, with the cannon pointed at them. The Europeans were posted within musket range, and the Seiks and irregular cavalry within sight. The 37th, seeing themselves hemmed in with musketry and artillery, naturally suspected that they were to be blown to pieces; and all the assurances of their officers proved insufficient to keep them composed. They were ordered to put their muskets into the little stone buildings called kotes, or bells. The majority of their number obeyed at once, and European soldiers were then marched towards the bells of arms, with the view of securing them from any attempt which the sepoys might make to recover them. This movement accelerated the crisis. Ensign Tweedie states—

"The sepoys were beforehand with the Europeans, and, making a sudden rush at the bells of arms, recovered their muskets, and fired at once upon their own officers and upon the advancing Europeans, retreating at the same time within their lines, and thence keeping up a brisk fire upon the Europeans. Up to this time, however, no officer had been hit. The sepoys of the 37th ensconced themselves for the most part behind their huts, some of them behind the bells of arms. The majority of their officers had fallen back at once upon the European column. Major Barrett, however, indignant at the way in which what he believed to be good sepoys had been dealt with, resolved, as he told them, to share their fate, and, along with the European sergeant-major, remained exposed to the fire opened from the half-battery, as also from the European musketry upon the huts. But the sepoys' worst blood was up, and several of their number fired upon him, others attacking him with their fixed bayonets. He was compelled to flee for his life, and a guard of faithful sepoys (principally of the grenadier company) having formed round his person, conducted him in safety to his bungalow in the cantonments. The sergeant-major also was saved by the same faithful escort. In the meantime, Captain Guise, of the 13th Irregulars, was only leaving his bungalow, and rashly attempted to reach the parade-ground, where his troop was drawn up, by riding through the lines of the 37th N.I. His chest was positively riddled with bullets in the attempt. Of course, his death was instantaneous.

"The sepoys still kept up a smart fire upon the scanty Europeans, who were labouring under the great disadvantage of having to deal with an enemy effectually secured behind their huts from obser-

vation. The officers of the 37th were posted with the European musketry, and were exposed, of course, to a smart fire. Several privates were knocked over within five yards of me, and yet not a single officer got touched. For about twenty minutes we remained under this fire. But our brave fellows began to drop off rather fast, and accordingly it was resolved to charge the huts. As a preliminary to this, a party was dispatched to set them on fire; and in the meantime, we officers of the 37th retired, and took our place beside the Seiks, who, we understood, were to take part in the charge. They form an irregular corps, and have only two officers attached to them—viz., a commandant (Colonel Gordon) and an adjutant. As both of these were mounted, there was need of our services in the ranks.

"Here I remained for about ten minutes, in the momentary expectation of the charge being ordered. The brigade-major, Captain Dodgson, then galloped across the parade-ground, and, placing himself at the head of the irregular cavalry, informed them that their commandant, Captain Guise, had been killed, and that he had been sent by Brigadier Ponsonby to supply his place. They flashed their swords in reply, giving vent, at the same time, to a low murmur, which struck me as somewhat equivocal. Captain Dodgson had scarce ceased addressing them when one of their number fired upon him with a pistol. The bullet only grazed the elbow of his sword arm, just at that point where the ulnar nerve passing over a process of bone is so easily irritated as to have gained for that piece of bone the common name of 'funny-bone.' The consequence was complete paralysis of the hand and arm; his sword dropped powerless across his saddle, and the rascal who had fired the shot rushed upon him to cut him down, but another of the troop interfered to rescue him, and, being well mounted, he succeeded in escaping from the *mêlée*."

These particulars are very striking, narrated as they are by a youth evidently possessed of unusual powers of observation, and on whose mind a scene so novel and exciting would naturally make a lively impression. One point, however, he has possibly mistaken; for an officer of the 13th, writing to inform the widow of Captain Guise of her bereavement, says—"Your dear husband was at his post, as he ever was; and, at the head of his regiment, he entered vigorously on the work of cutting up the rebels. His horse being fleetier than those of his men, he got in advance, and was only followed by Mix Bund Khan, an Afghan. Your husband followed a 37th rebel closely, and came up with him in the Sudder Bazaar, where the miscreant turned round, and fired his musket." The writer proceeds to say that the horse was wounded and fell; that Captain Guise vainly strove to reach the sepoy with his sword, being

* Ensign Tweedie's Letter.—*Times*, August 25th, 1857.

newly erected row of gibbets (three separate gibbets, with three ropes to each)* was calculated to produce. The people of Benares are described, in the correspondence of the period, as "petrified with fear of our soldiers being let loose on them." Martial law was speedily proclaimed; and on the 29th of June, the Rev. James Kennedy writes—"Scarcely a day passed without some poor wretches being hurled into eternity. Such is the state of things here, that even fine delicate ladies may be heard expressing their joy at the vigour with which the miscreants are dealt with."† The number of sepoys killed on the night of the 4th has not been estimated,‡ neither is there any record of the number of natives executed on the scaffold, or destroyed by the far more barbarous process of burning down villages, in which the sick and aged must often have fallen victims, or escaped to perish, in utter destitution, by more lingering pangs. The dread of the European soldiers, which seized on the people in consequence of the occurrences of the 4th of June, was viewed as most salutary; and the writer last quoted (a clergyman), remarks, that the natives "think them, the European soldiers, demons in human form; and to this opinion our safety is in a degree traceable."

The Europeans at Benares were reinforced by detachments of the 78th Highlanders, a regiment which, from the strangeness of its costume, created great excitement among the natives.

On the 22nd of June, a report was received that a body of mutineers were encamped about thirty miles from the city. On the evening of the 26th, a force consisting of 200 of the 78th Highlanders, the Loodiana regiment, and thirty troopers of the 13th, were sent from Benares in search of them. One of the party, in narrating the expedition, writes—"The rascals, of course, fled for life on the approach of the gallant Highlanders. You will, however, be gratified to learn, that twenty-four of the rebels were cut up by the cavalry and infantry, twenty-three caught and hung on the spot, twenty villages razed to the ground, and from forty to fifty villagers flogged, in order to cool their thieving propensities. A few days before the detachment left, the magis-

trate offered a reward of 1,000 rupees for the head or person of the leader of the rebels, who is well known to the natives."

The villagers did not betray the rebel leader. Indeed, it is remarkable how rarely, in the case of either Europeans or natives, they ever earned "blood-money," even though habitually wretchedly poor, and now almost starving, in consequence of the desolation wrought by the government and insurgent forces. The leader was, nevertheless, captured by the troops, and "hung up on a tree, to keep nine others company that had been hung there the same morning." The Europeans returned to camp "in high spirits."§ The newly arrived soldiers, however, who had not been accustomed to such warfare, had not had their houses burned, and were accustomed to view their lives as held on a precarious tenure, did not set about the task of destruction with quite such unalloyed satisfaction as is displayed in the correspondence of the civil amateurs. There is a lengthy, but most graphic, account of the early experience of a Highlander, which will not bear condensing or abstracting. Perhaps with the exception of Mowbray Thomson's *Story of Cawnpore*, nothing more touching in its simplicity has been written regarding any scene of the mutiny.

Few can read the Highlander's narrative without remembering that he and his detachment ought (if all concerned had done their duty) to have been already at Cawnpore, instead of starting, on the very evening of that fatal 27th of June, on such an expedition as he describes.

The hanging and the flogging, the blood-money and the burning villages; the old man "trying to trail out a bed" from his cottage, at the risk of perishing in the flames; the group of young children standing in the midst of a little courtyard, the decrepit man and aged woman, the young mother in a hot fever, with a babe "five or six hours old," wrapped in her bosom; all waiting together till the fire should consume them, and end their hopeless, helpless misery—these and other cases (of which there must have been hundreds unrecorded), are surely enough to quench the thirst for vengeance in any human breast, or at least to prove the necessity of striving to mitigate, not increase, the miseries of intestine strife;

* *Times*, August 21st, 1857.

† The clergyman, whose letter, dated "Bangalore, July 4th," has been recently quoted, states, on the authority of an officer engaged in the Benares affair,

‡ *Ibid.*

that 100 of the Madras Fusiliers, under Colonel Neil, killed 650 of the mutineers.—*Times*, August 25th, 1857.

§ Letter dated "Benares, June 29th, 1857."

friends rather than for those of dead foes; and his policy was decidedly the more successful of the two; for the villagers generally proved willing to hazard the vengeance of the hostile forces by saving life, but could rarely, if ever, be induced by threats or promises to earn blood-money.

An escort of twelve volunteers, and as many of the 13th irregular cavalry, arrived on the following day; and, before night, the rescued party joined the Benares community in the Mint. Four persons (either Europeans or East Indians), left behind at Jaunpoor, are said to have perished. These were Mr. and Mrs. Thriepland, the deputy-magistrate and his wife, who, after hiding themselves during the night of the outbreak in the house of one of the native police, were discovered and slaughtered by the irregular cavalry; a pensioned sergeant named Bignold; and a Mr. Davis, formerly an indigo-planter's assistant, supposed to have been put to death by the villagers.*

"A life pension of 100 rupees (£10) per mensem," was granted by government to Hingun Lall, with the honorary title of deputy-magistrate; with permission, as the Lalla was an old man, to commute the pension to a life jaghire, to be extended to a second life on easy terms.†

Allahabad is built on a spot which possesses rare natural advantages for the purposes of commerce and defence, and has been, from a very early period, the site of a strongly fortified city. The ancient Pali-bothra is said to have formerly stood here; and the Brahmins still attach importance to the place, on account of the Prayaga, or sacred confluence of three most holy streams, which unite at Allahabad—namely, the Ganges, Jumna, and Sreeswati. By bathing at one favoured spot, the pilgrim is supposed to receive the same benefit that he would have derived from separate immersion in each stream; and this is no mere saving of trouble, inasmuch as the Sreeswati is elsewhere inaccessible to mortal touch, and everywhere invisible to mortal sight: but the Hindoos assert that it joins the other rivers by a subterranean channel. Devotees come here and wait, in boats, the precise period of the moon when, according to their creed, ablutions, duly performed, will wash from their souls the defilement of

sin; and the hopelessly sick, or extremely aged, come hither also, and, fastening three vessels of water round their bodies, calmly step into the water and quit this life, passing by what they believe to be a divinely appointed road, into the world beyond the grave. The emperor Akber, who patronised all religions, and practised none, was popular with both Mohammedans and Hindoos. He built the modern Allahabad (the city of God), intending it as a stronghold to overawe the surrounding countries. The lofty and extensive fort stands on a tongue of land washed on one side by the Ganges, on the other by the Jumna, and completely commands the navigation of both rivers. As a British station, it occupies a position of peculiar importance. It is the first in the Upper Provinces, all to the eastward being called down-country. It is situated on the Grand Trunk road, 498 miles from Calcutta, 1,151 from Madras, 831 from Bombay, and 74 from Benares. Add to these advantages a richly stored arsenal, and a treasury containing £190,000;‡ and it may be easily understood that its security ought to have been a primary consideration: yet, at the time of the Meerut outbreak, there was not a European soldier in Allahabad. The fort, and extensive cantonments some four miles distant, were occupied by the 6th N.I., a battery of Native artillery, and five companies of the Seik regiment of Ferozpoor, under Lieutenant Brasyer, an officer of remarkable nerve and tact.

Sir Henry Lawrence early pressed on the government the importance of strengthening Allahabad with Europeans:§ and seventy-four invalid artillerymen were consequently detached from Chunar, and arrived at Allahabad in the latter part of May. Two troops of the 3rd Oude irregular cavalry were sent by Sir H. Lawrence for the further protection of the fort.|| Several detachments of H.M. 84th marched through Allahabad between the time of the arrival of the Chunar artillerymen and the outbreak of the mutiny; and the officer in command of the station had discretionary orders to detain them if he deemed their presence needful; but there was nothing in the manner of the Native troops to occasion any doubt of their fidelity, or justify the detention of the Europeans. On the

* Mr. Caesar's Narrative. Vide Sherring's *Indian Church*, pp. 267 to 276.

† Parl. Papers on Mutiny, 1857 (No. 7), p. 118.

‡ Lieutenant-colonel Simpson's account of the

Mutiny at Allahabad.—See *Times*, August 20th, 1857.

§ Appendix to Parl. Papers on Mutiny, p. 157.

|| *Ibid.*

writer of the letter, and of the persons therein mentioned, are all withheld by government; and the quotation begins abruptly.

"—has adopted a policy of burning villages, which is, in my opinion, the most suicidal and mischievous that can be devised; it prevents the possibility of order being restored; the aged, women and children, are sacrificed, as well as those guilty of rebellion. Cultivation is impossible; a famine is consequently almost certain. The sternest measures are doubtless necessary, and every possible endeavour should be made to apprehend and punish those actually engaged in plunder or rebellion; but here there seems to be no discrimination. A railway officer, whose report you will probably see, did excellent service, and seems to have behaved very gallantly when sent with a small guard to restore the railway where it might have been injured; but, in accordance with the custom, as he met with opposition from some plunderers and mutineers, he burnt ten villages, which he found deserted. The Trunk road now passes through a desert; the inhabitants have fled to a distance of four or five miles; and it seems to me to be obviously the proper policy to encourage all peaceable persons to return, not to destroy the villages and render the return of the people impossible. Some five persons have been invested with the powers of life and death in the station of Allahabad; each sits separately, and there are also courts-martial in the fort.

"You will do the state service if you can check the indiscriminate burning of villages, and secure the hanging of the influential offenders, instead of those who cannot pay the police for their safety."*

In a subsequent letter, written probably by the same person, but evidently by a civilian of rank, the following passage occurs:—"You have no conception of the dangers and difficulties created by lawless and reckless Europeans here. One of them cocked his pistol at Lieutenant Brasyer in the fort. The ruffian was as likely as not to have pulled the trigger; and, in that case, as Lieutenant Brasyer himself observed to me, his Seiks would have slain every European in the fort. This was before Colonel Neil took the command: if it had happened in his time, the probability is that the offender would have been tried and hanged."†

An Allahabad "civil servant"—one of the five persons already mentioned as invested with powers of life and death, and who speaks of himself as having been subsequently appointed by the commis-

sioner, Mr. Chester, as "the political agent with the force," which, from the date of his letter (June 28th) must have been Neil's—gives the following account of the proceedings after the arrival of the Fusiliers, before, and after, the arrival of their colonel. He writes—

"We dared not leave the fort; for who knows what the Seiks would have done if it had been left empty? However, let us not breathe one word of suspicion against them, for they behaved splendidly, though they are regular devils. We lived on in this way till the Madras Fusiliers came up, and then our fun began. We 'volunteers' were parted off into divisions, three in number; and your humble servant was promoted to the command of one, the 'flagstaff division,' with thirty railroad men under his command, right good stout fellows, every one of whom had been plundered, and were consequently as bloodthirsty as any demons need be. We sallied forth several times with the Seiks into the city, and had several skirmishes in the streets, when we spared no one. We had several volleys poured into us; but their firing was so wild that their bullets passed over and around us harmlessly. The 'flagstaff' was always to the front; and they were so daring and reckless, that 'the flagstaff boys' became a byword in the fort. Every rascality that was performed was put down to them; and, in the end, the volunteers got a bad name for plundering. The Seiks were great hands at it, and, in spite of all precaution, brought a great amount of property into the fort. Such scenes of drunkenness I never beheld. Seiks were to be seen drunk on duty on the ramparts, unable to hold their muskets. No one could blame them, for they are such jolly, jovial fellows, so different from other sepoys.

"When we could once get out of the fort we were all over the place, cutting down all natives who showed any signs of opposition; we enjoyed these trips very much, so pleasant it was to get out of that horrid fort for a few hours. One trip I enjoyed amazingly: we got on board a steamer with a gun, while the Seiks and Fusiliers marched to the city; we steamed up, throwing shot right and left, till we got up to the bad places, when we went on shore and peppered away with our guns, my old double-barrel that I brought out bringing down several niggers, so thirsty for vengeance was I. We fired the places right and left, and the flames shot up to the heavens as they spread, fanned by the breeze, showing that the day of vengeance had fallen on the treacherous villains."‡

The luckless British residents (not to speak of the native shopkeepers) were most shamefully treated by their defenders. What the city thieves and sepoys left, was looted by the Europeans and Seiks, who apparently could recognise no difference

* Letter, dated July 6th, 1857.—Parl. Papers (Commons), February 4th, 1857. Moved for by Henry D. Seymour. Showing the proceedings "taken for the punishment of those who have been guilty of mutiny, desertion, and rebellion" in India; and the reason why the country generally was not put under martial law "after the mutinies"—a measure,

the non-adoption of which is stated by the governor-general in council, to have "been made a matter of complaint against the Indian government."—p. 2.

† Letter dated "Allahabad, July 22nd, 1857."—*Ibid.*, p. 23.

‡ Letter of Allahabad civilian, dated, June 28th, 1857.—*Times*, August 25th, 1857.

considerations quite beyond the ordinary class of volunteers. An able military leader anywhere, but specially in India, must needs be also a statesman and financier. Neil's occupation of a separate command was too brief to show to what extent he might have possessed these qualities; and his eager panegyrists have praised his "vigour," and boasted of the panic it inspired among the natives, in a manner which is calculated to detract undeservedly from his fame, when, the thirst for vengeance being assuaged, posterity shall learn to look calmly on the Indian mutiny of 1857, and weigh the deeds of the chief actors with a steadier hand than contemporary judges are likely to possess. Then it may, perhaps, be deemed that Neil's best services were not those which earned him temporary popularity; and that his admirers may be glad to palliate the "village-burning" and "unlimited hanging" system pursued by him before the capitulation of Cawnpoor, as having been, perhaps, a mistaken policy, adopted in the hope of terrifying the wavering into submission, and so bringing the war to a speedy close. The very reverse was the case. The worst massacres occurred after the firing into the disarmed troops at Benares; and, strange to say, a similar cruel blunder is declared by Captain Thomson, in his *Story of Cawnpoor*, to have driven the 53rd N.I. into rebellion. He declares, most positively, that the men were quietly cooking their

food in their lines, when General Wheeler (of whom he speaks as a once admirable, but worn-out, commander), under the influence of some extraordinary misconception, gave the fatal order to Lieutenant Ashe, of the artillery, which caused the 53rd to be dispersed and driven from the station with 9-pounders.* These facts must be borne in mind; because the "esprit de corps," evinced by the mutineers, is to some extent explained by the fact, that several of the revolted regiments asserted, at different periods, each one its own special grievance, and urged it, too, upon the consideration of their own officers, when, as will be seen in subsequent chapters, the fortune of war brought them into communication. The difficulties with which Colonel Neil had to contend at Allahabad, have been very insufficiently appreciated. Disease, drunkenness, and insubordination among the Europeans and Seiks, were more dangerous foes than the Moolvee and his rabble host, though stated to amount to three or four thousand. Cholera appeared among the Fusiliers on the evening of the 18th, when several men came into hospital with the disease in its worst form. Before midnight eight men were buried, and twenty more died during the following day.† All the cholera patients were carried to the Masonic lodge, a short distance from the fort, which had been converted into an hospital; but the want of comforts for the sick was painfully felt. "The barracks,"

* Since the publication of the chapter containing the account of the siege and first massacre of Cawnpoor, Captain Thomson has issued a most interesting work on the subject, reiterating his previous statements, with important additional particulars. The 2nd cavalry were, he says, the first to rise. The old subahdar-major of the regiment defended the colours and treasure in the quarter-guard as long as he could, and was found, in the morning, lying beside the empty regimental chest, weltering in his blood. He recovered, however, but was killed by a shell while defending the intrenchment. "An hour or two after the flight of the cavalry, the 1st N.I. also bolted, leaving their officers untouched upon the parade-ground. The 56th N.I. followed the next morning. The 53rd remained, till, by some error of the general, they were fired into. I am at an utter loss to account for this proceeding. The men were peacefully occupied in their lines, cooking; no signs of mutiny had appeared amongst their ranks; they had refused all the solicitations of the deserters to accompany them, and seemed quite steadfast, when Ashe's battery opened upon them by Sir Hugh Wheeler's command, and they were literally driven from us by 9-pounders. The only signal that had preceded this step was the calling into the intrenchments of the Native officers of the regiment. The whole

of them cast in their lot with us, besides 150 privates, most of them belonging to the grenadier company. The detachment of the 53rd, posted at the treasury, held their ground against the rebels about four hours. We could hear their musketry in the distance, but were not allowed to attempt their relief. The faithful little band that had joined our desperate fortunes was ordered to occupy the military hospital, about 600 yards to the east of our position, and they held it for nine days; when, in consequence of its being set on fire, they were compelled to evacuate. They applied for admission to the intrenchments, but were told that we had not food sufficient to allow of an increase to our number." They were, consequently, dismissed to care for their own safety as they best could; Major Hillersden giving each man a few rupees, and a certificate of fidelity.—*Story of Cawnpoor*; by Captain Mowbray Thomson; pp. 39, 40.

† The American missionary, Owen, notes in his diary, June 19th, the deaths of three ladies on that day—named Hodgson, Purser, and Williams—of cholera; adding, "I predicted that the filth allowed to accumulate about the doors and in the drains, would breed disease of some kind. The authorities have now commenced the work of cleansing and sprinkling them with lime."—*Sherer's Indian Church*, p. 226.

of the English more remarkable than at Jhansi, which, as the residence of a Native court, had attained some importance for its trade and manufactures. The former rajah had paid great attention to the regulation of its streets and bazaars, which were remarkably clean and orderly.* Sleeman estimated its population at 60,000†—a very large number in proportion to the size of the place, and the state of which it was the capital. Jhansi town is situated among tanks and groves of fine timber trees, and is surrounded by a good wall. The palace was itself a fortress, built on a rock overlooking the town; and the imposing appearance of this lofty mass of stone, surmounted by a huge round tower, was justified by the number of cannon it possessed, said to amount to some thirty or forty pieces. The government had had repeated warning of the bitter discontent which the annexation of any state, however small, caused in the capital, by drying up the main source of income of the citizens, who depended for a livelihood on the expenditure of the court; yet Jhansi was left, fort and all, without a single European soldier.

Jhansi lies on the route from Agra to Saugor, 1-12 miles south of the former, 130 north of the latter, and 2-15 west of Allahabad. The troops in the station consisted of—

Detail of Foot Artillery—*Europeans*, none; *Natives*, 27. Wing of the 12th N.I.—*Europeans*, 6; *Natives*, 522. Head-quarters and wing of 14th Irregular Cavalry—*Europeans*, 5; *Natives*, 332.

In all—11 Europeans to 881 Natives.

In the spring of the year the cartridge question had been the pretext, or the cause, of excitement and disaffection; but the infantry at Jhansi and at Nowgong (the nearest military station), are asserted "to have become ashamed at the mention of it;" and the burning of empty bungalows had ceased some time before the outbreak of the mutiny.‡ Captain Dunlop, the officer in command of the station, had no distrust of the troops; and the commissioner, Captain Skene, and the deputy-commissioner, Captain Gordon, concurred, up to the last, in ridiculing the precautions taken at Nowgong. Such, at least, is the

* Thornton's *Gazetteer*.

† Sleeman's *Rambles and Recollections*, vol. i., p. 282.

‡ Captain Scot, 12th N.I., to deputy-adjutant-general.—Parl. Papers on Mutinies (No. 4), p. 121.

statement of the case by Captain Scot, of the 12th N.I., then on duty at the latter station.§ Unfortunately, he writes from memory only; for the documents which would have shown, beyond the possibility of doubt, the state of affairs at Jhansi and Nowgong, were destroyed, with the other records, in the conflagration which took place at both places; and the accounts sent to Cawnpore met a similar fate.

Captain Scot, however, states from his own knowledge, that some days before the mutiny occurred, Captain Dunlop sent over to Major Kirke, the officer in command at Nowgong, letters from Skene and Gordon, declaring that they had learned, from separate sources, that one Luckmun Rao (the servant of the Rancee of Jhansi) was doing his best to induce the 12th N.I. to mutiny; but whether with or without the authority of the Rancee, had not been ascertained. Subsequent letters spoke of spies, or agents of sedition, finding their way to the Native lines, and being strongly opposed by some of the more loyal and zealous sepoys. Of the fidelity of the Irregulars no suspicion appears to have been entertained; and, indeed, both at Jhansi and Nowgong, the infantry revolted first, though "the cavalry were the most bloodthirsty" afterwards.

The only European testimony on record regarding the mutiny, is a brief and scarcely legible note from Captain Dunlop. Concerning the massacre which ensued, there is none; for no European witness survived to tell the tale. The note runs thus:—

"To the Officer commanding at Nowgong.

"Jhansi, June 4th, 1857; 4 P.M.

"Sir,—The artillery and infantry have broken into mutiny, and have entered the Star Fort. No one has been hurt as yet. Look out for stragglers.

"Yours, &c.,

"J. DUNLOP."

This communication reached Major Kirke, by express, at eleven o'clock on the following day.

On the 10th, a letter in English came from Tewarry Hossein, the tehsildar of Mowraneeppoor (thirty miles from Nowgong), stating that he had heard of the murder of every European at Jhansi, and had received a perwaunah, to the effect that the Rancee was seated on the gadi (Hindoo

§ See despatch last quoted; and a long letter published in the *Times*, September 11th, 1857; not signed, but evidently written by Captain Scot, to the wife of Lieutenant Ryves, acquainting her with that officer's escape to Gwalior and Agra.

to Gwalior for help: some of the clerks tried to escape in native clothes, letting themselves down by ropes; but they were caught and killed.

Kala Khan, risaldar of the 14th cavalry, was active in the assault. Ahmed Hossein, the tehsildar of Jhansi, likewise took a leading part, in connection with the adherents of the Ranee. The men employed in the Salt excise joined in the attack. The Europeans felt that the struggle was hopeless, and the Hindoos and Mohammedans are alleged to have induced them to surrender, by swearing that their lives should be spared. Captain Skene opened the gates, and marched out.* The traitors instantly threw their vows to the wind; and, separating the men from the women, tied the former in a row by ropes, took the whole party into a garden in or near the city, and there beheaded them all except John Newton, the quartermaster of the 12th N.I. (a very dark half-caste), his wife, and four little children. This family was spared by the rebels, and carried off by them when they were driven from Jhansi. Lieutenant Powys is thought to have died in the fort. He could not walk out with the rest of the party. His wife was torn from him, and fell in the general massacre. "The men died first," writes Captain Scot; "Burgess taking the lead, his elbows tied behind his back, and a prayer-book in his hands. What a sad end for so kind-hearted and unselfish a man! But to die confessing the faith is a noble death. The rest died in the same way. They tried hard to get the women and children saved." But it was in vain. The Ranee does not appear to have been appealed to; but it is too probable that it was by the orders of this ambitious and childless widow—disinherited herself, and prohibited from exercising the right of adoption—that the ruthless deed was consummated. The women, we are told, "stood with their babes in their arms, and the older children holding their gowns. They had to see the men killed;" but there was every reason to believe "they were spared any violence save death."†

The care bestowed by Captain Scot, in his official capacity, in sifting and collecting evidence from every available source, would, under any circumstances, be very commendable; but is specially satisfactory,

as refuting the painful story which went the round of the English and Indian journals at the time, with regard to the fate of Captain Skene and his young wife. Their friends may be sure they joined with their fellow-Christians in "confessing the faith;" and were probably better prepared to meet death by the sword, than many of their countrymen might be to struggle with the great adversary on their beds in England. But the long interval which elapsed before the particulars above related were ascertained, gave room for the wildest rumours. Captain Scot's account was not published until August. In the meantime, the following extract from a letter, said to have been written from India to a relative of the maligned officer, was published far and wide:—

"Frank Gordon, Alic Skene, his wife, and a few peons, managed to get into a small round tower when the disturbance began; the children and all the rest were in other parts of the fort—altogether, sixty. Gordon had a regular battery of guns, also revolvers; and he and Skene picked off the rebels as fast as they could fire, Mrs. Skene loading for them. The peons say they never missed once; and before it was all over they killed thirty-seven, besides many wounded. The rebels, after butchering all in the fort, brought ladders against the tower, and commenced swarming up. Frank Gordon was shot through the forehead, and killed at once. Skene then saw it was no use going on any more, so he kissed his wife, shot her, and then himself."

Information subsequently obtained, regarding the massacre, tended to confirm the evidence adduced against the Ranee. Mr. Thornton, the deputy-collector, writing on the 18th of August, states it as the general impression, that the mutineers, after killing their own officers and plundering the treasury (which contained about £45,000), were going off; and it was wholly at the instigation of the Jhansi princess, with a view to her obtaining possession of the district, that they, together with other armed men furnished by the Ranee, attacked the fort. He adds, that they induced the Europeans to surrender, by solemnly swearing to allow them to depart unmolested; notwithstanding which, "they allowed them to be massacred by the Ranee's people in their presence, in a most cruel and brutal manner, having no regard to sex or age. For this act, the mutineers are said to have received from her 35,000 rupees in cash, two elephants, and five horses. The Ranee has now raised a body of about 14,000 men, and has twenty guns, which had been kept concealed by the former Jhansi chief, by being buried within

* The day on which the surrender was made, appears to have been the 8th of June.

† Captain Scot's Letter.—*Times*, Sept. 11th, 1857.

to Gwalior against the mutineers. Major tried to a the reception of Captain Dunlop's themselves ordered a parade; and after addressing caught 12th on the subject of their offer, and

Refusing to communicate this evidence of their loyalty to government, he proceeded to announce to the troops the news of partial mutiny just received. "The right wing, 12th N.I., when asked if they would stand by the colours, rushed forward to them as one man, and were enthusiastic in their expressions of fidelity. The artillery company embraced their guns with expressions of devotion. The men of the 14th said at once they would be true to the government. They expressed no enthusiasm."*

The officers were much gratified by the conduct of the men, especially of the artillery. Some few days previously, four of their company had been seized on an accusation of mutiny, and sent off as prisoners to Chutterpoor. On the same evening (June 1st), Major Kirke had the whole of the guns of the battery brought in front of the quarter-guard of the 12th N.I., and the same precaution was continued every night. The artillery company had "been cheerful and well-disposed" until then; but they are described as feeling "affronted and humiliated by this measure."

Early on the 5th, before the parade, forty of the 14th Irregulars, under a Native officer, had been dispatched to Lullutpoor, and a similar party to Jhansi. The latter marched to within ten miles of that place; and then, on learning the mutiny of the infantry, turned back. The first tidings regarding the fate of Captain Dunlop and Ensign Taylor, were brought by the shepherd of the left wing mess. "The 12th men, at Nowgong, seemed horrified at the news:" most certainly (Captain Scot adds) "they were sincerely so;" but the bazaar people were very anxious to send away their women and children, which Major Kirke would not allow them to do. For some time the Europeans had been looking round them for the means of escape; and the government camels, only eight in number, had been called for and examined. Murmurs immediately arose that the camels had been sent for to remove the treasure, and that it was actually being drawn

out in small sums, with the intention of placing the whole under the charge of "the Gurowlee rajah."† The treasure was felt to be "the danger all along." The 12th continued to manifest good-will, attachment, and respect to their officers; and the senior survivor of these (Captain Scot) gives the greater number credit for sincerity, considering that they mutinied under intimidation, and from an infatuated feeling that mutiny was a matter of destiny, Benares Brahmins having predicted it.

All continued quiet till sunset on the 10th of June. The officers had for some time dined at 4 o'clock, with the view of going early to the lines to prevent mischief. On the evening in question, some had left the mess-room; but others remained discussing the engrossing topic of public and private interest. Dr. Mawe (assistant-surgeon) urged on Captain Scot the advisability of abandoning the station, because it "was impossible that the men at Nowgong would stand fast after their brothers at Jhansi had rebelled, and were still so near."

As if in confirmation of this opinion, several musket-shots were heard. Lieutenant Townsend, of the artillery, and Lieutenant Ewart, mounted their horses, and galloped straight to the lines, arriving just in time to see the guns in the hands of the mutineers. Mrs. Mawe, Lieutenant Franks, Mr. Smalley, and other Europeans, had witnessed the outbreak. It occurred at the moment when the six artillery guns were as usual brought to the 12th N.I. brigade, and preparations were being made for relieving guard. "A tall, dare-devil Seik" walked forward, followed by two others. Loading his piece, he took deliberate aim at the havildar-major, a brave and faithful officer, and shot him dead. The three Seiks then rushed on the guns. The artillery sergeant made some attempt to defend them, but none of the gunners stood by him; and when the European officers tried to rally their men, and induce them to follow them in making a dash at the guns, no one would move: all were panic-stricken or mutinous. Major Kirke, finding that about 100 men had assembled at the mess-house, strove to induce them to march with him against the mutineers; and when compelled to relinquish this idea, he insisted on holding the mess-house. The arguments of the officers on the utter hopelessness of such a proceeding, were effectively seconded by the appearance of a 9-pounder, brought by

* Report of Captain Scot.—Further Parl. Papers, 1857 (No. 4), p. 124.

† *Ibid.*, p. 125.

the two officers made provision for the necessities of a dying sepoy, whom they found in one of the hospitals; and for an old bedridden woman, the grandmother of a sepoy musician, who had gone off with the rebels. They then proceeded to "the Logassee rajah's, nine miles off;" and there found Major Kirke. He had started with the other Europeans from Chutterpoor; but suddenly losing his senses,* had imagined the sepoys wanted to murder him; quitted the party without giving any warning, and fled alone by night to *Logassee*—the chief place of another small Bundelcund state, on the route from Calpee to Jubbulpoor. In 1808, the then rajah, a chief of ancient Boondela lineage, had been confirmed in possession of his little fort and territory of twenty-nine square miles in extent, on condition of obedience to the British government. The present rajah treated the fugitives "most kindly," and they passed the night under his protection; yet the major could not be soothed, but persisted in imagining all sorts of horrible deeds were being meditated by his host. The three officers left Logassee on the following morning, under a guard furnished by another Bundelcund chieftainess, the Ranee of Nyagong.

Meantime, the Europeans and sepoys had marched on to Mahoba, where they arrived on the 15th, expecting to overtake Major Kirke. The sepoys expressed great dissatisfaction at his prolonged absence, murmuring that all their officers intended leaving them gradually, and declaring that they would not proceed till they had found their major. A pressing letter was addressed to him on the subject;† and it appears to have reached him; for he and his two companions joined the party at Mahoba on the 16th, bringing with them a cartload of wine, tea, and other supplies from Nowgong. The sepoys welcomed their officers most joyfully. They had been distressed by a report of their having been murdered; and "were actually weeping" with suspense and sorrow when the major arrived. The original destination of the party had been Allahabad; but news of the disturbances at Banda and Humeerpoor induced a change of route; and, on the evening of the 17th,

they proceeded towards Kallinger and Mirzapoor. Mr. Carne, the deputy-collector of Mahoba, accompanied the fugitives, making arrangements with the rajah of *Chirkaree* (another Bundelcund dependent state, under the rule of a Rajpoot family) for the charge of the Mahoba district, and obtaining from the rajah a sum of money for the expenses of the journey. A heavy demand was soon made on this fund. At mid-day on the 18th, during a halt under some trees, at a little distance from a pass between two hills, through which the road lay, a message was received from a man called Pran Sing, the leader of a party of dacoits, demanding 1,000 rupees as the price of escorting the fugitives in safety to Kallinger. At first, a refusal was resolved on; but the Native officers and men urged the payment of the money; and, as they had been most obedient and anxious to please, the Europeans let them have their own way in the matter. "The men accordingly paid down 300 rupees to the head of the party, and applied to the officers for 400 rupees, to make up the advance agreed on. It was given them, and the whole paid to Pran Sing," to whom 300 more were promised on reaching Kallinger.

The next morning, before daybreak, as the Europeans were preparing to move on without Pran Sing (who had not appeared), the camp was fired into from a tree between it and the pass. The sepoys began to fire wildly in return; and the treacherous dacoits commenced in earnest. "The major now came to his senses, and was himself, from being a child who spoke of a mango, or something to eat and drink, as if it were his life." He went among the sepoys, striving to induce them to force the pass; but they were utterly disheartened, and complained that their guns could not carry so far; while the matchlockmen were picking them off from the hills. Lieutenant Townsend fell, shot through the heart; and the party retreated towards Mahoba, leaving their buggies and carts in the hands of the robbers. Some of the Europeans fled on horseback; others on foot. Dr. Mawe and Mr. Smalley, the band-sergeant, walked from daylight till past noon, keeping up with the main body. The sepoys remained close to Major Kirke, who, as soon as the excitement of the skirmish had subsided, relapsed into imbecility; and, on reaching the outskirts of a village three miles from Mahoba, fell from his horse, and expired.

* Captain Scot says, Major Kirke's "health had been failing; and now, from want of tea, and wine, and beer, he was quite gone."—*Times*, September 11th, 1857.

† Statement of Sergeant Kirchhoff.—Further Parl. Papers on Mutiny, 1857 (not numbered), p. 77.

aged three years in mind, during her ride, was as healthy as any child in England. She felt more horrified than Leonora after her ride with William, and could not endure my approach after her mother came."*

The begum of Banda had sent for the child immediately on her arrival, and provided English clothes and other necessities for her use; making her a present of twenty rupees. She extended her kindness to Mrs. Mawe, who remained a fortnight at Banda, and to whom the begum gave, at their parting interview, a pair of earrings, on a little silver plate. Mrs. Mawe and her child went to Calcutta, and thence to England.

Thus ends the history of the escape from Nowgong, in the course of which many Europeans perished; but not one of them by the hands of the sepoys. The only blood shed by the Nowgong mutineers, was that of a Christian drummer named George Dick, an African.

Banda,—is a British district in Bundelcund, bounded by Futtehpore on the north, and Humeerpore on the west. The nawab, who protected the Nowgong fugitives, was a merely nominal prince, residing at Banda (the chief place of the district), in a handsome and strong palace, with an income of £40,000 a-year, guaranteed to the family by the East India Company in 1812; and maintaining a force of between four and five hundred men, comprising infantry, cavalry, and artillery, dressed and equipped in imitation of the British troops. The cantonments of the latter were situated on the east bank of the river Cane, or Keyn, and were occupied in June, 1857, by about 250 of the 1st N.I.†

The information published regarding the outbreak here, is very defective. The notices scattered through the Blue Books, are few and conflicting; and the Banda officials do not appear to have, either in their public or private capacity, furnished evidence regarding the reason of their sudden evacuation

of the station. The summary of events dispatched to England by the Supreme government, states, that "the civilians and officers were forced to quit the station on the 14th, the two companies of the 1st N.I. having taken possession of the treasury. All had arrived at Nagode. By the latest accounts, the party of the 1st N.I. appear to be still in charge of the treasure."‡

On the 16th, the fugitives—civilians, officers, and ladies—reached Nagode in safety; and the nawab of Banda was written to by Major Ellis, the Nagode commissioner, and urged to exert himself to the utmost in recovering all plundered property belonging to either government or private persons.§ On the 22nd of June, Major Ellis writes to the secretary of government at Calcutta, declaring that he "cannot get any intelligence from Banda;" but that, according to bazaar reports, only two bungalows had been burnt there, and that the treasure was still all safe; "the two companies of the 1st regiment of N.I. standing sentry over it in the lines." On the strength of this "bazaar report," he urges that the nawab of Banda "should be warned that he will be held responsible for it [the treasure], as well as for his conduct in having ordered the Banda officers out of his house, though they do all speak well of him."||

It appears, however, that the nawab needed every encouragement that could be held out to induce him to continue in the loyal course he had hitherto held, considering that no European troops could be sent to his assistance, and that the feelings of the Banda population and of the Boondelas in general, were fiercely hostile to the British. The story of the sepoys guarding the treasure, seems doubtful: so also is the fate of the joint magistrate, Mr. Cockerell, who is declared, in one official document, to have been killed at a place called Kirlace;¶ and in another, to have come into Banda the morning after the other residents had left, and to have been murdered by the troopers

* Letter of Captain Scot.—*Times*, September 11th, 1857.

† Letter of Major Ellis, from Nagode. The Nagode commissioner, in separate despatches (June and September), asserts that it was two companies of the 50th, at Banda, who "mutinied, and plundered the treasure;" but this seems altogether a mistake.—Further Parl. Papers (not numbered), p. 11; and Further Parl. Papers (No. 4), p. 272. The Parliamentary Return (House of Commons, February 9th, 1858), which gives the number and description of troops at each station at the time of the mutiny at

Meerut, does not specify the regiments to which they belonged.

‡ Further Parl. Papers on the Mutiny, 1857 (not numbered), p. 2.

§ Letter of Major Ellis, June 16th, 1857.—*Ibid.*, p. 10.

|| Further Parl. Papers relative to the Mutinies, 1857 (not numbered), p. 51.

¶ *Ibid.*, p. 106. Kirlace is evidently a Blue-Book blunder: possibly the same town is intended as the "Kirwee" of the *London Gazette*, May 6th, 1858; where Mr. Cockerell is said to have been stationed.

government from Jaloun. In 1817, a new treaty was made with the Nana, acknowledging him the hereditary ruler of the lands then in his actual possession.* In 1832, adoption by the widow of the chief was sanctioned, "because it was agreeable to the people."† In 1838, the British government thought fit to take the management of affairs into their own hands. The army of the state was disbanded, and a "legion" formed, with two European officers as commanding officer and adjutant. It appears that the British authorities never seriously contemplated surrendering the sceptre to the heir whom they had acknowledged; but any difficulty on this score was removed by his death. "The infant chief did not live to the period when the propriety of committing the administration of the country to his charge could become a subject of discussion."‡ In 1840, Jaloun was declared to have "lapsed, as a matter of course, to the East India Company as paramount lord;"§ the feelings of the population at the extinction of their small remains of nationality being quite disregarded. As soon as the news of the revolt at Jhansi reached Jaloun, the example was followed; and the towns of Jaloun, Calpee, and Oorai, rose against the Europeans—not, however, imitating the ruthless extermination perpetrated at Jhansi, but quietly expelling the obnoxious rulers.

At the end of May, 1857, there were in Oorai two companies of the 53rd N.I., under Captain Alexander: these were to be relieved, in due course, by two companies of the 56th N.I., which left Cawnpoor for the purpose on the 2nd of June. The deputy-commissioner of Jaloun, Lieutenant G. Browne, had previously received a private letter from Cawnpoor, warning him that the loyalty of the 56th was considered doubtful, and that the men ought not to be trusted with the care of the treasury if it could possibly be avoided. He immediately addressed a remonstrance to General Wheeler regarding the dispatch of suspected troops to guard a large treasury; but, receiving no answer,

* *Treaties with Native Powers*, p. 405.

† Note by J. P. Grant.—*Vide* Parl. Papers on Jhansi, July 27th, 1855.

‡ Thornton's *Gazetteer*: article "Jaloun."

§ *Ibid.*

|| Lieutenant Browne, writing from Jaloun, September 21st, 1857, says—"Lieutenant Tomkinson's fate is unknown."—Further Parl. Papers (No. 7), p. 154. Captain Thomson, writing in June, 1859, states, on the authority of a Gwalior artilleryman

he sent off every rupee he could spare, amounting to £52,000, to Gwalior on the 4th of June, under the escort of Lieutenant Tomkinson and a company of the 53rd N.I. The mission was faithfully performed, and the money delivered over to a guard sent from Gwalior to receive it. Lieutenant Tomkinson, hearing of the mutiny at Cawnpoor, wished to proceed to Gwalior with his men; but this the Gwalior authorities would not permit. He commenced retracing his steps; his company became mutinous, and demanded to be led to Cawnpoor. This he, of course, would not consent to; and the sepoys then told him he must not stay with them, as they could not answer for his life. Lieutenant Tomkinson rode off and left them. His fate was long uncertain; but his name does not appear in the list of casualties in the *Army List* or *Gazette*; and he probably, like many other fugitives supposed to be killed, was found, when tranquillity was partially restored, to be alive in concealment.||

On the 6th of June, news of a partial mutiny among the Jhansi troops reached Oorai, and Lieutenant Browne sent to ask assistance from Captain Cosserat, who was in command of two companies of the grenadier regiment belonging to the Gwalior contingent, stationed at Orya, in the Etawa district.

Captain Cosserat arrived next morning by means of forced marches. The men were suffering from heat and fatigue; it was therefore resolved that they should rest until the following evening, and then proceed to Jhansi, where the Europeans were supposed to be still holding out with a portion of the Native troops. On the 8th of June, a force arrived from the Sumpter rajah, to whom Lieutenant Browne states that he had written (in his own words), "to send me in all his guns, some infantry and cavalry, to go with me to the relief of Jhansi."¶

Sumpter,—is a small native state in Bundelcund, placed under British protection by a treaty made in 1817. It is 175 square miles

who had been taken prisoner, that Lieutenant Tomkinson, when his men mutinied, "put spurs to his horse and rode as far as Jaloun, where he was kept in safety by a Thakoor, from June to November." In the latter month he was seized and put to death by the mutinous Gwalior contingent.—*Story of Cawnpoor*, p. 119.

¶ Despatch from deputy-commissioner of Jaloun, September 21st, 1857.—Parl. Papers relative to the Mutinies, 1858 (No. 7), p. 154.

belonging to a Monsieur Jourdain, and other stragglers.

On the 14th, a body of mutineers from Jhansi came over to pillage Oorai, and murdered two Europeans who fell into their hands—Mr. Hemming, an assistant-surgeon; and Mr. Double, Lieutenant Browne's clerk. The former is said to have been trying to escape in native clothes, and was killed by a sepoy of the 12th N.I., while drinking at a well near the cutcherry. Messrs. Passano and Griffiths, deputy-collectors, fell into the hands of the rebels, but saved their lives by becoming Moham-medans; after which, they were allowed to

depart. A female relative of Passano's (either his mother or sister) was killed; but whether she nobly chose martyrdom rather than apostasy, or, like the majority of the victims, had no alternative offered, is not stated.*

Mrs. Hemming and her family appear to have escaped to Calpee, from which place they were sent on to Cawnpoor, after its recapture by the English, escorted by 500 of the Sumpter troops. The rajah was himself faithful to us; and his troops being a feudal militia, not a subsidiary force, were under his control, and proved perfectly trustworthy.

CHAPTER XV.

FUTTEHGHUR AND FURRUCKABAD.—MAY AND JUNE, 1857.

FUTTEHGHUR is a military station on the Ganges, in the Furruckabad district; three miles from the city from which the district takes its name. Mohammed Khan Bangash, a Patan noble, founded this city, which he named in honour of the reigning emperor, Feroksheer. *Ferok*, or *Faruck*, signifies happy; and *abad*, town. "The happy" was an epithet not in any sense applicable to the ill-fated patron of Mr. Hamilton and the E. I. Company;† but the town merited the appellation, being handsome, healthy, and cleanly; well supplied with provisions by reason of its position in the midst of a fertile and well-cultivated country, and possessing great commercial advantages from its situation within two or three miles of the Ganges, which is navigable thence upwards for 200 miles, and downwards to the sea. Its nawabs are accused of having thought more of war than trade; yet Furruckabad became the emporium, for this part of India, of all commodities from Delhi, Cashmere, Bengal, and Surat;‡ and as late as 1824, it had a mint, and the Furruckabad rupees circulated extensively through the North-West Provinces.

In 1802, according to Mr. Thornton, "the Company assumed actual possession of Furruckabad, liquidating the claims of the tributary Patan nawab by a fixed monthly stipend of 9,000 rupees; in addition to which, an annual sum of nearly 180,000 rupees was bestowed, in pensions and charitable allowances to his dependents." The fact was, that under the Wellesley administration, native princes were so liberally provided for, and so courteously treated, that neither they nor their dependents felt the sting of poverty, much less the deep humiliation which has been their lot since the new system of annexation came into fashion, with its curt official notifications, its confiscation of personal property, and its exposure to sale of "the dresses and wardrobes" of disinherited princesses, "like a bankrupt's stock in the haberdashers' shops of Calcutta—a thing likely to incense and horrify the people of India who witnessed it."§ Under the old system, the nawabs of Furruckabad (although Patan turbulence was proverbial) seem to have submitted quietly to their foreign rulers, and to have found consolation for the loss of

* Letters from commissioner of Saugor; deputy-commissioner of Jaloun; and Sheo Pershaud.—Further Parl. Papers (No. 7), pp. 150—156.

† See *Indian Empire*, vol. i., p. 239.

‡ Tieffenthaler's *Beschreibung von Hindustan*, vol. i.

p. 139. Quoted in Thornton's *Gazetteer*: article, "Furruckabad."

§ Speech of Mr. Bright—House of Commons' debate on second reading of the India Bill, June 24th, 1858.

calmly (like Mrs. Ewart of Cawnpoor) the speedy and violent death which awaited her, her husband and child, Mrs. Monckton writes—

"We cannot say, 'Pray for us.' Ere you get this, we shall be delivered one way or another. Should we be cut to pieces, you have, my precious parents, the knowledge that we go to Jesus, and can picture us happier and holier than in this distant land; therefore, why should you grieve for us? You know not what may befall us here; but there you know all is joy and peace, and we shall not be lost, but be gone before you; and should our lives be spared, I trust we may live more as the children of the Most High, and think less about hedging ourselves in with the comforts which may vanish in a moment. * * * Good-bye, my own dear parents, sisters, and friends. The Lord reigns! He sitteth above the water-flood. We are in the hollow of His hand, and nothing can harm us. The body may become a prey, but the souls that He has redeemed never can."

A few days later, she describes the terror excited by the report of the breaking open of another gaol besides that of Meerut, and the enlargement of many murderers.

"We went to church; very few people were there, and fear seemed written on every face—it was most noticeable; everybody felt that death was staring them in the face, and every countenance was pale. Mr. Fisher [the Company's chaplain] preached on the text, 'What time I am afraid, I will trust in thee.' * * * We are quite prepared for the worst; and feel that to depart and be with Christ, is far better. The flesh a little revolts from cold-blooded assassination; but God can make it bear up."

On the 1st of June, she wrote home some last words, which well deserve a place in the history of a great national epoch, as illustrating the spirit of grateful, loving trust in which our Christian countrywomen awaited death, even though the inventions and gross exaggerations current at the time, must have led them to anticipate that their passage through "the dark valley" would be attended by every possible aggravation which could render it terrible to feminine purity, as well as to the tenderest feelings of a wife and a mother.

"I often wish our dear Mary was now in England; but God can take care of her too, or He will save her from troubles to come by removing her to

* *Edwards' Rebellion in Rohilcund, Futteghur, and Oude*, p. 67.

† *Sherer's Indian Rebellion*, p. 138.

‡ The American Board of Missions had a very important station at Futteghur. The self-supporting Orphan Asylum, established at the time of the famine in 1837, had a tent and carpet factory, and also a weaving department, in which cloth was

Himself. * * * I am so thankful I came out to India, to be a comfort to my beloved John, and a companion to one who has so given his heart to the Lord."

On the 3rd of June, information was received that the Native troops at Shahjehanpore and Bareilly had mutinied, and that a body of the Oude mutineers, consisting of an infantry and cavalry corps, were marching to Futteghur. Mr. Probyn, the collector, states, that Colonel Smith and the officers had disregarded his advice to provision the fort, and garrison it with pensioners, and others to be depended on.* Ishuree Dass, a native preacher, connected with the American Mission, likewise remarks, that it was believed, that "had the majority of the old Native officers, who retired on pension only a few weeks before, been there, half the regiment at least would have gone into the fort with the Europeans. The recruits were the ones who were constantly on the point of breaking out, and were only kept down by the elder sepoys. So sure was the commanding officer of the fidelity of these men, that only two or three days before the regiment mutinied, he told us there was no occasion for fear, and that we might make our minds at ease."† This is quite contrary to the testimony of Mr. Jones, who asserts, that "the 10th were known to be mutinously disposed; for they had given out, that as soon as another corps arrived, they would rise and murder all the Europeans, only sparing their own officers." Mrs. Freeman, the wife of one of the four missionaries stationed by the zealous and munificent American Presbyterians at Futteghur,‡ writes home, that "no one placed the least confidence in the 10th; for the men had told Colonel Smith that they would not fight against their 'bhai logue' (brethren) if they came, but they would not turn against their own officers." This lady adds—"Some of our catechists were once Mussulmans; and whenever they have gone to the city for the last two or three weeks, they have been treated with taunting and insolence. The native Christians think, that should they, the insurgents, come here, and our regiment join them,

woven in European looms. A church had been erected in 1856, at the cost of £1,000. The Mission high-school had 250 pupils; there were also two orphan schools (for boys and girls), and seven bazaar schools, in connection with the Mission. Ten village schools, supported by Dhuleep Sing, were likewise under the management of the missionaries.

proceeding down to Cawnpoor by boat; but the news of the mutiny at that station, reached them just in time to save them from flinging themselves into the power of Nana Sahib and Azim Oollah. On the 10th of June they crossed the Ganges with Mr. Probyn, and joined the refugees at Dhurumpoor. All these persons, including the judge, were extremely dissatisfied with their position. The crowded fort was scarcely tolerable during the intense heat; and the defences were so dilapidated, as to render it hopeless to expect to hold them against any organised attack of the mutineers. The conduct of the 10th N.I., in the matter of the gaol outbreak, determined the Europeans on returning in a body to Futteghur, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Mr. Probyn, who, with his wife and four children, resolved upon remaining under the protection of Hurdeo Buksh—a decision which the party leaving considered one of extreme foolhardiness. Edwards hesitated, but eventually resolved on remaining at Dhurumpoor.

For some days after the return of the Europeans to Futteghur, all went well. The 10th N.I. gave a fresh instance of fidelity by handing to Colonel Smith a letter written by the subahdar of the 41st N.I., announcing the march of that mutinous corps from Seetapoor, to a position a few miles on the opposite side of the river, and requesting the 10th N.I. to rise, murder their officers, and seize the treasure. The answer asserted to have been given was, that the 10th had resolved on being true to their salt, and would certainly oppose the mutineers if they persisted in advancing. The 10th cheerfully obeyed their officers in breaking up the bridge of boats, and sinking all other boats at the different ghauts, to prevent the mutineers from crossing to Futteghur.* They succeeded, nevertheless, in effecting a passage at dawn of day on the 18th of June, and entered the city walls unopposed. A company of the 10th, and the artillerymen with the two guns, stationed on the parade guarding the treasure, are said to have marched to the nawab, placed him on the "gadi" (cushion of sovereignty), laid the colours at his feet, and fired a royal salute of twenty-one guns.† Their next proceedings are not known. It is uncertain

what reply the nawab made them; but apparently not a satisfactory one; for the sepoys returned to the parade-ground, saluted their colours, shared the treasure among themselves, divided into two parties, and left Futteghur, after breaking open the gaol, and releasing the prisoners. All this time the Europeans remained unmolested in the fort, where they always slept from the first period of alarm. The few sepoys on guard there, remained obedient to orders until the seizure of the treasure, and then departed quietly, one or two returning at intervals to fetch their lotahs and other articles left behind in the fort. A European officer quitted Futteghur with the mutineers, trusting to them for safe-conduct to some distant station: at least this seems the meaning of the statement made by Mr. Jones, and published by government without explanation or comment. After mentioning the breaking-up of the regiment, he adds, that "the Poorbeahs crossed over at once to Oude, with intention to make for their homes, accompanied by Captain Bignell. We afterwards learnt that this body had been plundered by the villagers, and Captain Bignell killed: others went off by twos and threes to their homes; and those who remained were killed by the 41st, because they were not allowed a share in the public money. Thus this regiment was completely disorganised and destroyed."‡

The Europeans knew not how to act: some suggested entering the boats; but the river was very low; and it was decided to hold the fort, and prepare for attack. They numbered, in all, upwards of a hundred; but of these only thirty-three were able-bodied men. A 6-pounder, loaded with grape, was mounted over the gateway; and, in the course of the next few days, they succeeded in bringing six more guns into position. The godowns were searched for ammunition for the guns and muskets, and a few (muster) round shot and shells were found, together with six boxes of ball cartridge, and an equal quantity of blank. The latter was broken up and used for the guns; while nuts, screws, hammer-heads, and such like, were collected, to serve as grape and round. The ladies, women and children, were placed in the house of Major Robertson (the head of the gun-carriage agency), inside the walls, where they were comparatively safe. On the 28th of June, the 41st N.I. opened two guns on the fort; and, taking up a position behind trees, bushes, and any cover

* Account by Mr. Jones.—Parl. Papers (No. 7), p. 138.

† *Ibid.*, p. 139.

‡ *Ibid.*

throwing her down. Major Phillot, Ensign Eckford, and a few others, Mr. Jones did not see, but supposes them to have been killed. After about an hour's swimming he reached the other boat, which had also been fired on, and Colonel Goldie's youngest daughter, a Mr. Rohan, and a native boatman, had been killed, and several others wounded. The voyage was continued that night, without further molestation. Early the next morning a European voice was heard from the shore, hailing the boat. It was Mr. Fisher, who was lifted on board, delirious with mental and bodily suffering; raving about his wife and child, who had been drowned in his arms. In the evening the party reached a village in the territories of Hurdeo Buksh—opposite Koosoomkhore, in Oude. The inhabitants came out, with offers of assistance and protection. After some hesitation, from fear of treachery, the hungry and weary passengers came on shore, and fed thankfully on the chupatties and buffaloes' milk brought them by the herdsmen. A poor Brahmin took Jones with him to his home, and gave him food and a charpoy, or native bed, to rest on. In the course of two or three hours, a message came from Colonel Smith, saying the boat was about to start. The wounded man was, however, unequal to any further exertion, and he persisted in staying with the friendly thakoor native. The Europeans were unwilling to leave their countryman behind, and sent again and again to beg him to join them. At last they started, and nothing more was heard of the boat for several days, till the manjee, or head man, who took her down, returned, and gave out that Nana Sahib had fired upon them at Cawnpoor, and all on board had perished.

The herdsmen, in their dread of the probable consequence of harbouring a European, hid the fugitive so closely, that Hurdeo Buksh was himself many days in ignorance of the fact that Jones was in his territory; but as soon as he became acquainted with it, he took care to provide him with food and clothing. In the meantime the poor young man had suffered terribly from his wound, which threatened to mortify. In his extremity, he thought of the parable of Lazarus. A little puppy came frequently to the shed when he was at his meals, to pick up any crumbs that might fall: he induced it to lick the wound night and morning; the inflammation diminished im-

mediately, and the hurt was nearly healed before the fugitive ventured forth to join his countrymen.* He thought himself the sole survivor from the boats; but this was not the case; Major Robertson, after having had his wife washed out of his arms, swam away with his boy on his shoulder. The child appears to have perished, but the father found refuge in a village, about four miles from that in which Jones lay hidden. Mr. Churcher, junior, had likewise escaped, and was concealed in an "aheer," or herdsmen's village, at a considerable distance from the places in which his countrymen were. Mrs. Jones (the widow of the gentleman killed during the siege) and her daughter, Mrs. Fitzgerald, and a single lady, whose name is not given, had been taken from the boat, and given over to the nawab, who held them in captivity. None of the Europeans sheltered by friendly natives, were permitted to see, or communicate with, each other, except the Probyn family and Mr. Edwards, who refused to separate, even though urged to do so, as a means of increasing their small chance of escape. The record of their adventures affords much insight into the condition of Oude and the feeling of the people. The loyalty of Hurdeo Buksh was greatly strengthened by his personal attachment to Probyn, who, he said, had invariably treated him as a gentleman. Of Mr. Christian (of Seetapoor), he also spoke in terms of respect; but the ill-paid, needy, grasping "omlahs," who were introduced in such shoals in Oude immediately after the annexation, had proved the curse of the country, and, in his plain-spoken phrase, had made the British rule "to stink in the nostrils of the people." The person of the chief accorded well with the manly independence of his character. Mr. Russell has since described him as a very tall, well-built man, about thirty years of age; standing upwards of six feet high, with square broad shoulders; regular features, very resolute in their expression; and dignified and graceful manners.

A body of the 10th N.I., 250 in number, actually crossed the Ganges during the time their comrades were besieging the Futteghur fort; and it was said that a large number of mutineers would follow, to attack Dhurumpoor, put the Europeans to death, and seize some lacs of government treasure, which, according to a false, but

* Edwards' *Personal Adventures*, p. 128.

do; and, after wandering about for some time, as we afterwards learned, he received a sun-stroke while crossing a stream, and was carried in a dying state into a village, where he shortly after expired." The wretchedness of the fugitives at Kussowrah was increased by intense anxiety regarding Futtehghur. While sitting, one afternoon, listening to the firing, a note was brought them from the judge (R. Thornhill), written in haste and depression, describing the worn-out state of the garrison, and imploring Probyn to induce Hurdeo Buksh to go to their aid. The messenger who brought the note had eluded the besiegers by dropping from the wall of the fort into the Ganges, and swimming across. The retainers of the rajah, although willing to peril their lives in defence of the refugees under the protection of their chief, or in repelling any attack on Dhurumpoor, were determined not to cross the Ganges, or provoke a contest with the mutineers; and the messenger returned to Futtehghur with this sad reply. At the same time, Probyn advised Thornhill to endeavour to get the assistance of a body of men in Furruckabad, called "Sadhs"—a fighting class of religionists, who were supposed to be very hostile to the sepoys. After the evacuation of Futtehghur, the two subahdars in command of the 41st, appear to have made a mere puppet of the nawab of Furruckabad, and to have compelled him to issue what orders they pleased. A message was sent, in the name of the nawab, to Hurdeo Buksh, informing him that the English rule was at an end, and demanding from him an advance of a lac of rupees, as his contribution towards the expenses of the new raj, or, in lieu of it, the heads of the two collectors, Probyn and Edwards. Several days elapsed, during which the fugitives were kept in constant alarm, by rumours of detachments being on the march to Kussowrah, for their apprehension. At length Hurdeo came to them by night; and, though quite resolved on opposing to the death any attempt which might be made to seize them, he said he had been obliged to treat with the nawab, in the hope of gaining time; as, so soon as the rains should fall, the Ramgunga and Ganges would rise in flood, and the whole country be inundated, so that "Dhurumpoor and Kussowrah would become islands surrounded with water for miles; he might then defy the sepoys, as it would be impos-

sible for them to bring guns against him, and they would not dare to move without artillery." In the meantime his own position was extremely critical, and fully justified his anxiety about his family; for the mutineers threatened, if he did not immediately surrender the Europeans, to take very complete revenge both on himself and his people. Speedy succour could not be expected; the most important stations looked for it in vain. The hearts of the fugitives sank within them, as, pent up in the cow-house, they heard from Hurdeo Buksh, "that Nana Sahib had assumed command of the mutineers at Cawnpoor, where the English had been so completely destroyed, that not a dog remained in the cantonment; that Agra was besieged; that the troops at Delhi had been beaten back, and were in a state of siege on the top of a hill near there; that the troops in Oude had also mutinied, and Lucknow was closely invested."

It was highly probable that the rebels, and especially some of the escaped convicts, to whom Probyn and Edwards had been obnoxious in their capacity of magistrates, would immediately come and search Kussowrah. Near the village there was a tract of jungle, many miles in extent, in the midst of which was a hamlet of some four or five houses, inhabited by a few herdsmen,* and called by the fitting name of *Runjpoora*, the place of affliction. This village, during the rainy season, became a complete island of about a hundred yards square. The only pasturage, on sufficiently high land to escape being submerged, was about three miles distant, and both cattle and aheers proceeded to-and-fro by swimming—a mode of progression which habit appeared to have made as natural to them as walking on dry land to ordinary herds and herdsmen. To Runjpoora the party proceeded, after some discussion regarding the advisability of separating, as a means of escaping observation. The Thakoors offered to take charge of the children, promising to do their utmost for them; and urged that, by parting, the lives of all might be saved; but that if, unhappily, "the children did perish, their loss might be repaired—their parents might have a second family; but they could never get second lives, if they

* Edwards mentions a singular fact with regard to this little community. On Sundays, the aheers would on no account part with the milk of their cattle, but always used it themselves.—(p. 116.)

but having besides the ground-floor only one upper story, and no tyekhana below. The front rooms of the ground-floor were made use of for the officers, the interior for the men, and the back part for a dispensary. It was formerly the banqueting hall of the residents, the lower apartments having been made use of for an office. A battery of three guns, an 18-pounder, a 13-inch howitzer, and a 9-pounder, were placed between the Water Gate and hospital. The right wing of the hospital served as a laboratory for making fuses and cartridges, and fronting it was placed a battery of three mortars.

"The Bailey Guard was a continuation of the hospital, but built on ground to which one had to descend considerably. A portion of it was used as a store-room, another as the treasury, a part as an office, and the remainder as the barracks of the native soldiers who guarded this place, commanded by Lieutenant Aitkins. Having on its left only the brick wall surrounding the neutral space of the residency garden, already spoken of, it was by no means a strong position. To the right of these buildings was the Bailey Guard, *par malheur*, the guard-room of the sepoy formerly guarding the residency, but, being without our boundaries, unapproachable by either ourselves or the enemy. The gateway to the right was lofty, and a fine piece of architecture. The gate was, however, to be blocked up with earth, and in the event of an entrance being forced, two 9-pounders, and an 8-inch howitzer between them, could shower grape and canister into the assailants.

"Dr. Fayer's house, like the Bailey Guard, facing the east, was also commanded by the clock-tower of the Furreed Buksh palace, and the out-offices of the Tehree Kothee and Nakarkhana. It was a fine and commodious lower-roomed house, raised on a considerable elevation, with a terrace, whence there was excellent rifle-shooting. It was commanded by Captain Weston and Dr. Fayer, who is a first-rate shot, and has sent many a sepoy to answer for his sins in another world. A 9-pounder, loaded with grape, was placed in a north-eastern direction, to command the Bailey Guard gateway, if possible.

"Coming out of Dr. Fayer's house, and down the road to the left, was the civil dispensary, which, being situated between Dr. Fayer's, the post-office, the Begum Kothee, and the gaol, was one of the safest places in the whole garrison. It had previously been a portion of the post-office.

"The post-office, during the siege, was one of the most important positions we had—commanding, as well as being commanded by, the Havilath gaol and a mosque to the right, and the clock-tower and out-offices of the Tehree Kothee to the left. It was made the barrack-room of a great portion of our soldiers, and contained two 18's and a 9-pounder pointed in different directions, and protecting in some measure the Financial Office and Sago's garrisons below. Besides these, there were three mortars playing into the Cawnpoor road, the Motee Mahal palaces, and the buildings round about the new palace and the old gaol. There was also a workshop attached to it, for the manufacture of tools and the preparation of shells and fuses. It was the head-quarters of the engineers, whose office and residence it was made, and besides offered accommodation to several families.

"The wall bounding the south side communicated, by breaches made in it, with the gaol, native hospital, school-houses, and the Cawnpoor battery, as well as with the Judicial and Anderson's garrisons.

"The Financial Office outpost, a large two-storied house, was, like Sago's garrison, at first not intended to be within the line of our defences, and was only retained on account of the positions being most probably untenable by the enemy, since they did not command any part of the residency houses, which overtop them, at the same time that they were useful in repelling advances made from the positions of the rebels on a level with it. It was barricaded on all sides with furniture and boxes within, but the out-offices and gateway were apparently very weak. The house itself was large and extensive, and had two verandahs, both well barricaded. It communicated with the residency through the post-office, and was directly below Dr. Fayer's house. Captain Sanders, of the 13th, commanded this outpost with great ability and courage.

"Sago's outpost, a lower-roomed and comparatively rather small building, was contiguous, being only separated by a wall from it. Both these outposts, during the siege up to the arrival of the first reinforcements, were particularly dangerous; and their

THE HILL-FORTRESS OF GWALIOR.

The city or town of Gwalior, capital of the Mahratta state of that name, is situated at the base of a precipitous, isolated rock, about 80 miles S. from the city of Agra, and 772 N.W. of Calcutta, in $26^{\circ} 18' N.$ lat., and $78^{\circ} 30' E.$ long. The celebrated hill-fortress, from which its chief importance is derived, is built upon the rock mentioned, which is one mile and a-half in length, by about 300 yards wide; the elevation from the plain, at the northern extremity of the plateau, being 342 feet. The sides of the rock are precipitous and rugged, and are impossible of ascent but by ladders, or by a single approach on the north-eastern side, where it gradually dips toward the plain. Around the brink of the precipice a stone parapet is erected, within which rises the fort of the Maharajah Sindia, one of the most tried and faithful of the native princes of India.

The entrance to the enclosure within the rampart is near the north end of the east side; in the lower part by a steep road, and in the upper part by steps cut in the rock, wide enough to permit elephants to make the ascent. A high and massive wall protects the outer side of this huge staircase: seven gateways are placed at intervals along its ascent; and guns at the summit command the whole of it. Within the enclosure of an inner rampart is the citadel—an antique palace surmounted by kiosks, with six lofty round towers or bastions, connected by walls of immense thickness and extent. It has been calculated that at least 15,000 men would be requisite to garrison this fortress completely; and it has always been considered of great importance among the native chiefs. Tradition reports it to have been used as a stronghold during more than a thousand years.

Gwalior has, undoubtedly, in all ages been a military post of great importance, as well from its local peculiarity of position, as from its central situation in Hindoostan. Under the imperial domination of Akber and Aurungzebe, it was occupied as a state prison, in which obnoxious branches of the reigning family, or subjugated princes of other states, were confined until death relieved them from the thralldom of captivity. Within the limits of the fortress the royal prisoners were not debarred enjoyment, so far as it was compatible with their safe keeping; and among other expedients provided for their amusement, a numerous menagerie of lions, tigers, and other wild animals, was kept within the fort. On account of its presumed security when it first came into the possession of the Mahrattas (who also retained its use as a state prison), it was made a principal dépôt for artillery, ammunition, and military stores.

Upon the dismemberment of the Mogul empire, after the death of Aurungzebe, Gwalior fell into the hands of a Jat chief, known as the rana of Gohud. From him, or his descendants, it was acquired by stratagem by Sindia, the ruling chief of the Mahrattas, in 1779. From the latter it was, however, wrested in the following year by a British force under Major Popham; who, despite its repute for impregnability, escalated the scarpd rock on which it stood, at daybreak on the 3rd of August, 1780, and planted the British colours on the summit of its towers. The storming party on this dangerous exploit was led by Captain Bruce, brother of the great Abyssinian traveller. Three years afterwards the fortress was restored to the rana of Gohud by Mr. Hastings, the governor-general, who soon found occasion to regret the cession; and, changing his policy, sanctioned aggressive measures on the part of Sindia, which eventually again placed the important fortress in the hands of the Mahratta chief. Thus affairs continued until shortly after the commencement of the present century; when, offence having been given to the Company's government by the Sindia family, hostilities again broke out, and the power of the Mahratta received a severe check. At this time, and from the year 1794, when Madhaje Sindia died, the dominions of this important branch of the great robber tribes of India, extended from beyond Delhi on the north, to near Bombay on the south, and from the Ganges to Gujerat; a vast region, acquired and held by means as atrocious as any recorded in the history of India. War having been found inevitable to curb the arrogance and rapacity of the Mahrattas, Sir Arthur Wellesley, on the 21st of August, 1803, inflicted a severe chastisement upon them at the battle of Assaye (a fortified village

hands of the murderers were two officers, Majors Blake and Hawkins, who had been conspicuously trustful of their men; and by those men they were slain, with others, on the night of the outbreak. Dr. Kirk, with his wife and child, concealed themselves in a garden during the night; but, in the morning, they were discovered. Mrs. Kirk was robbed, but was not at the time further ill-treated: her husband was shot dead before her eyes. At this miserable sight the poor woman begged the murderers to put an end to her also; but, pointing to the corpse of her husband, they replied with some feeling—"No, we have killed you already!" Such of the Europeans as could get away escaped to Agra; and it is some mitigation of the guilt of the mutinous troops that they allowed the ladies and children to depart without ill-using them, beyond the mere act of plundering such as had any property about them.

The position of Sindia was now a very trying one. As soon as the troops of his contingent had murdered or driven away their European officers, they went to him, placed their services at his disposal, and demanded that he would lead them against the British at Agra: but he not only refused to sanction their previous outrages, but endeavoured to prevent them marching towards Agra; and in this he succeeded until an advanced period of the autumn. In September, however, they could no longer be restrained; and, on the 7th of that month, the native officers of the different corps waited upon Sindia, and demanded to be led either to Agra or Cawnpoor. As the answer to their request was not conformable to their wishes, they seized the means of conveyance, and the main body of them left Gwalior, but without offering violence to their chief.

At length, the disasters that had followed every effort of the rebellious troops when opposed to British valour, compelled them to seek some position in which, at a moment of imminent peril, they might be able to maintain themselves with some prospect of success; and Gwalior being the most important stronghold in Central India likely to be accessible to them, they turned their eyes toward it as a place of refuge in case of extremity. This view being adopted by the chiefs in revolt, the Mahratta and Rajpoot insurgents resolved that, if Sindia would not join them against the British, they would attack and dethrone him, and instal another maharajah in his place. To effect this object, the rebel forces, towards the end of May, 1858, drew near Gwalior, and were met in the field by Sindia, whose whole force then consisted of about 9,000 men and eight guns. The strength of the enemy was somewhere about 11,000 men, with twelve guns. The rebel swere led by the rancee of Jhansi, the nawab of Banda, Tantia Topee, Rao Sahib (nephew of the Nana), and other chiefs of eminence, both Mohammedan and Hindoo; and at 7 A.M. on the 1st of June, they made their appearance before the capital in order of battle. Sindia divided his army into three columns or divisions, the centre of which he commanded in person. The engagement had scarcely commenced, when the whole of the troops of Sindia, with the exception of his body-guard, went over in a body to the enemy. The contest was, however, continued till half the number of the faithful guard had fallen, when the rest fled with their master to seek safety at Agra. Directly the maharajah had thus abandoned his capital, the rebels entered it, and endeavoured to form a government of their own. They chose Nana Sahib as Peishwa or head of all the Mahratta confederacy, and appointed his nephew, Rao Sahib, chief of Gwalior, which arrangement was assented to by the disloyal troops of Sindia, as well as by those belonging to other chiefs in enmity with him. During the rebel occupation of Gwalior, the bulk of the army under the rancee of Jhansi, remained encamped in a garden called the Phoolbagh, outside the city, and all due precautions were taken to guard the approaches: the property of the principal inhabitants was sequestered; the treasures of the maharajah were seized by the connivance of a treacherous servant, named Ameercaud Batya, who had been his father's treasurer; and a formal confiscation of all the royal property was declared.

The possession of Gwalior by the rebels was not of long duration, for it was considered by the supreme government to be of the greatest importance that the daring act of its seizure should be promptly and effectually chastised. A force, under the command of Sir Hugh Rose, was therefore dispatched for its recovery; and so rapid were the movements of the British troops, that by the morning of the 16th of June they had reached the cantonments. A series of engagements occupied the next three days, which all ended in the discomfiture of the rebels. By the evening of the 18th they had

Delhi yielded an enormous booty in gold, silver, and jewels, especially rubies and diamonds. Ferishta, the historian, declares that the amount stated by his authority so far exceeds belief, that he refrains from mentioning it. Neither does he give the number of persons of all ranks dragged into slavery; among whom were many masons and other artificers competent to the erection of a mosque, in which the sanguinary Timur, previous to his departure from the city he had desolated, offered up thanks for the punishment he had been enabled to inflict upon the inhabitants. For many weeks Delhi remained ungoverned, and nearly uninhabited; and the territory belonging to it became in a short time so reduced by the ravages and aggressions of neighbouring chiefs, that it extended in one direction but twelve miles, and, in another, scarcely a mile from the city.

By the vicissitudes common to Eastern history, Delhi after some time gradually recovered its importance, and became again the capital of an extensive dominion, unaffected by the convulsions around it, until the early part of the sixteenth century, when, after a sanguinary conflict at Paniput, continued to the very walls of the city, it was surrendered to the emperor Baber, sixth in descent from Timur. From this period until the reign of Shah Jehan, which commenced in 1627, little of moment appears on record as regards Delhi; but during the lifetime of that monarch, the city was rebuilt on a magnificent plan, far surpassing the original design; and the imperial establishments being now removed thither, sumptuous edifices were built for the nobles and public offices, and Delhi became in appearance, as it had long been in rank, an imperial city.

During the reign of Mohammed Shah, Delhi was subject to continual alarms from the struggles for power that raged among the nobles of the court, and an attempt to subvert the authority of the emperor by setting up Abdullah Khan as a rival to the throne, in whose behalf a force was collected. The armies of Mohammed and of the pretender met between Agra and Delhi, and the latter was signally defeated and made prisoner. Mohammed Shah entered Delhi in triumph—the empress-mother receiving him at the entrance of the harem, bearing a basin filled with gems and new coins, which she poured over his head as a “wave-offering” of joy and thanksgiving. The reign of Mohammed was marked by weakness, and by the open extravagance and corruption that prevailed among all classes, from the emperor downwards; while the intrigues of the Mahrattas surrounded him with a net from which, ultimately, he found it impossible to escape with life. The kingdom, weakened by incapacity and neglect, at length attracted the notice of Nadir the Persian, an adventurer who had mounted the throne of that kingdom in 1736, under the title of Nadir Shah, the “wonderful king;” and who now, at the head of a formidable army, advanced towards Delhi. After an action with the ill-commanded troops of Mohammed, who were signally defeated, and the king made prisoner, the conqueror marched into Delhi, and established himself in the royal palace, distributing his troops throughout the city, and stationing detachments in various places for the protection of the inhabitants. During the first day strict discipline was maintained, and all was quiet; but, on the second, a rumour spread of the death of Nadir Shah; and the populace immediately rising, slew all the Persians within reach, to the number of 700, including some of those who had been stationed for the protection of private dwellings. The tumult continued during the whole night; and at daybreak Nadir Shah mounted his horse and sallied forth, believing that his presence would at once restore order by proving the error of the current report. Flights of stones, arrows, and bullets from the houses soon undeceived him; and one of his chiefs being killed at his side by a shot aimed at himself, he ordered his troops to retaliate, and not leave a soul alive where they should discover the corpse of a Persian. This command involving license for a general massacre, was eagerly obeyed: the soldiery rushed into the houses, and gave free loose to their revenge, and lust, and covetousness. The streets of Delhi streamed with blood; many thoroughfares were blocked up with carcasses; flames burst forth in all parts of the town, where the wretched inhabitants, distracted by the thought of beholding their wives and children in the hands of the enemy, had preferred sharing with them a fiery death. The shrieks and groans of the dying and the dishonoured pierced the air, overpowering at times the fearful imprecations, or yet more fiendish scoffings of their persecutors; and, from sunrise to broad noon, these horrid sights and sounds continued unabated. Nadir Shah, after issuing the terrible mandate, went to a little mosque in the great bazaar near the centre of the city, and there remained in

became depopulated through the savage ferocity of its Persian invader in 1739. Fifteen years after this terrible visitation, the city was again given over to pillage and slaughter by the troops of Ahmed Shah, the second in succession from Nadir the destroyer. In 1759, the Mogul power succumbed to the energy and superior tactics of the Mahrattas, who became masters of the territory of India from the Indus and Himalaya on the north, to nearly the extremity of the peninsula on the south; but the pomp and circumstance that had adorned the capital of the Moguls was now transferred to Poonah. Its fading glory did not, however, exempt it from further misfortune; and in a fearful struggle which ensued between the Mahrattas and the Rajpoots in 1767, Delhi was again entered by a hostile force of the former, under Sewdasheo Rao Bhow. The victors, on taking possession of the city, consummated their success by defacing its palaces, tombs, and shrines, for the sake of the rich ornaments which had been spared by the Persians and Afghans. They also tore down the silver ceiling of the Hall of Audience, which was coined into seventeen lacs of rupees (£170,000); seized the throne and all other royal ornaments, and destroyed the male inhabitants without distinction of rank or age. The emperor Shah Alum, who succeeded Alumgeer II. upon the despoiled throne of the Moguls, had been constrained to abandon the capital and take up his residence at Allahabad, under the protection of the English; when, by a sudden revulsion of policy on the part of the Mahrattas in 1770, he was informed, that if he did not choose to accept the invitation given to him to return to his capital, his son would be placed on the throne. Acceding to this necessity, Shah Alum reached Delhi in December, 1771, and entered its ancient gates amid the acclamations of the populace. From this time until his death (some thirty-six years subsequently), his life was a career of uninterrupted misery, through the tyranny of his Mahratta allies and the bad faith of the East India Company and their servants, who were alternately his protectors and his oppressors. At length, on the 10th of September, 1803, he formally surrendered himself and his empire into the hands of the Company, in return for their protection and an annual stipend of thirteen and a-half lacs of rupees,* reserving to himself the nominal title of Emperor of Delhi; and from this time until the outbreak of the revolt in May, 1857, the city of Delhi remained in the uninterrupted possession of its English masters.

The successive invasions by the Persians, the Afghans, and the Mahrattas, and the destruction that invariably followed their conquests, will account for the extensive belt of ruins which, for a distance of some twenty miles, environ the city built by Shah Jehan. For the devastation within its walls, consequent upon its storm and recapture by the British troops under General Sir Archdale Wilson, in September, 1857, we must refer to the following extracts, from details furnished by the actors in the terrible drama of retribution:†—"Without the walls the devastation was widely spread; but ruin had concentrated its fury upon the ill-starred city. From the Lahore gate to the village of Subzee Mundee, on the Kurnaul road, there was an almost continuous line of carcasses of camels, horses, and bullocks, with their skins dried into parchment over the sapless bones. Here and there were remains of intrenchments where battles had been fought on the road. From Badulee Serai, a short distance from the Lahore gate, every tree was either levelled with the ground, or the branches were lopped off by round shot: the garden-houses of the wealthy citizens were, in almost every instance, masses of ruins, with the remains of men and beasts bleaching around them. Here and there might be seen the perfectly white skeleton of one who had shared in the terrible struggle of the siege, and had fallen unnoticed and unremembered by his fellows; while on all sides lay scattered fragments of clothing, cartouch boxes, and exploded shells. Around the Subzee Mundee all foliage was destroyed; the gaily ornamented residences in the vicinity of the Serai were now mere masses of blackened ruins, with broken sand-bags and shattered loopholed walls, that proclaimed the fiery ordeal through which the combatants on either side had passed. With the exception of the Moree bastion and the Cashmere gate (both on the north-east side of the city), the line of defences did not exhibit much traces of injury; but within the walls, the appearance of the city was fearfully desolate. Entering by the Cashmere gate, the first object seen was the Mainguard, now a mass of ruins. St. James's church next appeared, battered with shot even up to the

* See ante, p. 129.

† Vide also *History of the Indian Mutiny*, vol. i., pp. 498; 520: vol. ii., pp. 166; 170.

occupied and secured. By noon, possession was obtained of the Jumma Musjid. The cavalry that on the previous day had been sent round to the southern face of the city to observe the enemy's camp outside the Delhi gate, returned to report that it appeared to be abandoned; and the explosion of a magazine in that direction, which had been heard early in the morning, seemed confirmatory of the report. The resistance of the mutineers in our front became less and less decided. On the left, by ten o'clock, the gun or guns in front of the palace had been taken and spiked. Then a column was formed for the palace itself. It advanced, blew open the great gates, and occupied the vast piles of building, which were found all deserted. Two hours more, and Selimghur and the bridge were taken. Nothing now remained but the south-western quarter of the town, with its wall and gates beyond the Jumma Musjid; and by five in the afternoon, this also was in the possession of the troops: nor this only, but also the abandoned camp beyond the walls. And thus, by the close of the seventh day of this arduous struggle, the labours of the gallant force were crowned with complete success. The appearance of the once rich and populous city, when the storm of fire and iron that so long had raged over its every street, at last cleared off, bore witness to the vigour with which that storm had been directed and maintained. Under one vast pile of ruins lay festering carcasses of slaughtered rebels. Perhaps no such scene had been witnessed in the city of Shah Jehan since the day when Nadir Shah, seated in the little mosque of the Chandnee Chouk, directed and superintended the massacre of its inhabitants. And if the slaughter that thus attended the righteous vengeance of the British general was less extensive and promiscuous than that which followed upon the sanguinary caprice of the Persian tyrant, yet the ruin of the imperial city was more certain and complete in 1857 than it was in 1739. The excesses of Nadir were to the Mogul sovereignty as a violent but passing attack of illness to an individual, which permanently weakens his constitution, indeed, but from which, though shaken, he yet recovers. The triumph of the English struck the debilitated patient dead. He who had borne the titles of Great Mogul and King of Delhi still lived, it is true; but his sovereignty, long virtually, was now actually at an end. His palace was in the hands of his conquerors. His most inner and sacred apartments became the head-quarters of the English army. In his white marble pavilion—the Dewan Khass, or private council-chamber—was heard, on the evening of the 21st of September, 1857, a sound such as had never before broken the stillness of its early splendour or of the squalid solitude of its later days. It was the cheering with which the head-quarter staff received from the general the name of the Queen of England. Never, surely, was there a more fitting place in which to give the health of that royal lady than in the heart of the palace of the enemy who had defied her power; never a time more fitting than when the majesty of the empire had been so signally vindicated, and the massacre of so many of those who were her sisters as well as her subjects, had been in part, at least, avenged. No wonder that the cheers rang out through the marble arches into the courts and gardens of the palace; no wonder that the escort of Goorkas, loyal as gallant, caught and returned them."

The city of the Moguls was now indeed but little better than one vast and blackened ruin!—its houses and streets deserted, and its defences unmanned; while the sentence of utter demolition hovered over its shattered gates and once defiant towers. The imperial city had now not one hand uplifted in its defence.

But the terrible yet just work of retribution was carried on by British soldiers in a spirit of humanity that contrasted strongly with the practices of native warfare. The women and children found concealed or straggling in the city, were spared all harsh treatment, and were even protected from personal indignity by men fierce with the excitement of war, and burning to avenge the murders and outrages perpetrated upon their own countrywomen: but they were generous as well as brave. Nor were the male inhabitants afterwards molested who had remained passive during the struggle, and had not aided the rebellion by their resources or their sympathy. All such were peaceably allowed to quit the city upon applying for permission to do so; and even those who were suspected of treason, had the advantage of a fair trial; and when death subsequently ensued, it was because previous guilt was clearly established.

An officer, writing from the city a few days after its reduction, says—"The Cashmere gate presented a horrible sight: thirty or forty sepoy, some blown up, and others

describes the incidents of his visit to the ruins of the prostrate capital:—"After a time there rose dimly along the horizon a dark ridge, not distant, but hazy and indistinct, so that the eye could not at first distinguish the difference between the trees and cupolas, minarets and battlements, with which they were blended. Then came in sight, beneath this ridge, a wide river, on the other side of which I could now make out the castellated walls of imperial Delhi, crowned with bastion and turret, and the lofty domes of mosques and palaces just reflecting the rays of the sun. The city thus seen has a noble aspect, which becomes more impressive on a nearer approach, till the rifts, the dilapidations, and the decay along the water-face of the works are visible. The river itself protects this side of the city, and therefore the weakness of the wall towards the east is of smaller consequence; but it so happens that the part of the city defences we attacked were the strongest of the whole. However, our ground had good command of portions of the place, and we could not pick and choose. Had we attacked from the south we should have found the walls and bastions inferior in strength, and fewer advantages of position in other respects; but it was impossible to move round the city from the north, even had it been desirable to remove from the ridge, where our left flank was defended by the Jumna, and our right rested on a defensible cliff above a ravine. The river at this period of the year is rather low, and is spread in several channels over a wide expanse of sandy bed, which it forms into islands. The road conducts us to a bridge of boats, moored by bark ropes to anchors up stream, fastened to stakes in the river, and provided with apparatus to suit the rise of the waters. There are actually shaky posts for oil lamps stuck at intervals along the line of boats, and sheds of reeds are erected in the stern of each boat to give shelter from the sun. There is a sentry on each end of the bridge, and no native is allowed to pass without inquiry. The Jumna flows at the rate of two miles an hour or so, in turbid and shallow streams; but higher up it becomes deeper. Notwithstanding large offers of rewards, we never could get this bridge destroyed during the siege, and we could scarce touch it with our guns; so that we had the mortification of seeing the rebels and their convoys and supplies crossing it whenever they chose. They did not often go that way if they found it as unpleasant as I did, for the gharry shook tremendously. The bridge leads to the Calcutta gate; but before one reaches it he sees the grand feudal-looking keep of Selimghur rising on his left out of the waters of the river by which it is surrounded. Although it has seen better days, this fort, built of solid stone-work, with massive walls, deep-set, small-eyed windows, possesses an appearance of real strength, which was honestly refreshing after a long course of stucco and compo. It is only accessible by a very lofty bridge, thrown on high arches from the city wall across the branch of the river which insulates the castle, and it is now occupied by a detachment of English troops. At this point the wall of Delhi sweeps round by the curve of the river, and in front of us is the Calcutta gate. The masonry here dates from the time of Shah Jehan, the Great Mogul, to whom Delhi owes its grandest monuments and works. It bears marks of time here and there; but very little outlay and labour would renovate the fine face, which rises to the height of thirty-five or forty feet before us, pierced with loopholes, and bastioned at intervals for its defenders. Passing by the drawbridge and through the Calcutta gate, which offers nothing remarkable, we enter at once into the streets of an Eastern town, rather cleaner and wider than usual. Our course lay for a short time by the city wall; then through a silent street—the houses closed, but pitted all over with bullet-marks; then through a wider street, with public buildings shattered and half ruinous—English guards and English children looking from the doorless halls. Here the magazines were open, and the native shopkeepers sat in their open stalls; but the marks of bullet and cannon-shot became thicker and thicker at every pace; the trees by the side of the way were split and rent; doors and windows were splintered; the gables were torn out of houses; and walls let in the light at jagged holes, through which shot and shell had heralded its advent long ago. At last all is ruin—house and wall and gate alike crumbled under a tremendous bombardment. Then comes a spot over which the storm has passed more lightly; and in an open space there stands, clean, fresh, and radiant in the morning sun, the restored church of Delhi, not destitute of architectural attraction, surmounted by a cupola and ball and cross; and in those particulars and in the general design, affording some likelihood that the architect had not quite forgotten St. Paul's cathedral when he drew his

of the Mogul. A grand face of rich red sandstone, darkened by time, crenellated in two rows, rises to a height of fifty or sixty feet above us, and sweeps to the right and left in melancholy grandeur, slightly broken in outline by turrets and flanking towers. The gems of which the casket is so grand ought, indeed, to be rich and precious. The portal is worthy of the enclosure. Except the Victoria gate of our new palace of Westminster, I have seen no gateway so fine in proportion and of such lofty elevation. The massive iron and brass-embossed doors open into a magnificent vestibule in a great tower, which rises high above the level of the walls, and is surmounted by turrets and four cupolas of elegant design. On passing the gates we find ourselves in a sort of arcade, vaulted and running for the length of the tower, in the midst of which there is a very small court, richly ornamented with sculptured stone-work. The entrance is guarded by a soldier, who might be mistaken for a very sunburnt and savage-looking English rifleman. He is dressed in dark green, nearly black, and supposed by the military authorities to be very like foliage in hue, and therefore suitable to riflemen—like one of our brigade; but he wears a dreadful compromise between a Glengarry bonnet and a turban, made of green cloth with a red tartan border, on his head; his eyes are wide apart, his cheek-bones are high, his lips thick, his face round, like his head, and his jaws square. I don't think I ever saw Saxon or Celt or Scottish, or Irish mixture of the two, exactly the same as that man. He is, in fact, one of our Goorkas. The arcade conducts us to an open courtyard, surrounded by houses of excessively poor aspect. At one side there, in the turreted gateway, Mr. Saunders points out to us the room, below a cupola, where two of our countrywomen were brutally murdered. But in the courtyard before us a more terrible scene was enacted. There is a dry stone tank, in which there once played a fountain, in the centre of the court. Above it a venerable and decaying tree casts an imperfect shadow over the stone seats on which, in former times, those who came hither to enjoy the play of the waters and their refreshing music were wont to repose. It was at this spot, beneath this tree, and round the fountain, that the Christian captives, women and children, after several days of painful respite and anxiety, worse than the fate they dreaded, were hacked to pieces by the swords of the ferocious and cowardly miscreants, who in their mad excitement forgot that Mohammed had ordered women and children to be saved from death. There is as yet no other memorial of the tragedy; but lo! '*ex ossibus ultor!*' the dungeon of the captive monarch who permitted the defilement of his palace by such deeds is close at hand—the house of Timour, the descendants of Baber, Shah Jehan, and Aurungzebe, have fallen never to rise; smitten in the very palace of their power, which has become their dungeon. Around the very place where that innocent blood ran like water, are ranged, as grim monuments of retribution, row after row of guns taken from the enemy; our guards are in the gates; and of the many who took part in the murders it is probable few live to dread the punishment which, sooner or later, will strike them. The mouldering walls of the palace buildings, broken lattices, crumbling stone-work, and doors and wood-work split, decayed, and paintless, the silence only broken by the tread of the sentry, or our own voices, rendered the whole place inexpressibly sad and desolate. But sadder still when one thought of the voices, of the cries which resounded within these walls one short year ago. It was with a sense of relief—a deep long-drawn breath—that we proceeded towards another grand gateway, leading by a long vaulted arcade into a courtyard paved like the former, but kept in trimmer order, and surrounded by continuous edifices, some of white marble, all of rich decorations in arabesque, the most conspicuous of which, notwithstanding the attractions of a beautiful mosque, is the Hall of Audience—the '*Dewan Khass!*' ”*

The following extracts from letters of individuals personally engaged in the hazardous struggle which resulted in the conquest of the city, will appropriately close this brief sketch of its history. The first are from the correspondence of an officer attached to the staff, dated "Delhi, September 26th, 1857," five days subsequent to its reoccupation by British troops. The writer, after referring to some incidents of the assault, already noticed, proceeds to say—"I think those who called the fortifications of Delhi a garden-wall, have only to walk round them to be satisfied of their mistake. The defences are exceedingly strong; and though the heights, a mile distant, facilitate a siege, they by no means, for practical purposes, give any real command of the

* See *ante*, p. 128.

houses; and will never show a front. As soon as they hear a cheer from the Europeans they run away like mice. We remained till the night of the 24th of August without progressing, when an order was given out for the 61st and 1st Europeans, and some Seiks, to march at four the next morning to a place called Ruffinjar. It was given out by our spies the day before, that a large body of the sepoys had left Delhi, and proceeded to this place for the purpose of cutting off our supplies. We marched in the morning, and overtook them about four, and a good hard fight took place; but, as usual, we made the scoundrels run. Lieutenant Gabbett, of No. 2, got killed. We lost five or six men, and had several wounded. We captured thirteen guns and all their camp equipage. I forgot to mention that we were losing so many men with cholera, that we had to send to Ferozepoor for the left wing. They also came by double marches, and had to encounter a great deal of trouble on the road. They arrived at Delhi on the 14th of August. The weather was getting a little cooler, but still it was very disagreeable in tents. After they arrived, I am sorry to say, the cholera broke out as fresh as ever. We buried, in one day, nine men; you can't guess how we were situated. We hardly had men enough to relieve the pickets. Things remained that way till the siege-train arrived from Ferozepoor. We were anxiously looking for it every day. At last the artillery and big guns arrived, and then we had harder work. Then we were night after night building batteries and lying in the trenches, and the artillery were bombarding the walls of Delhi and the city day and night. We had a great many men wounded in the trenches. On the night of the 13th, when all our advanced batteries were ready for action, part of the army left camp, and advanced within a hundred yards of the walls, under cover, ready to storm the place, which we did at about daylight the next morning; the remainder of the regiments entering at other parts of the city all about the same time. We managed it beautifully, although there were a great many killed and wounded; I dare say over 1,000. The scoundrels flew in all directions. We entered the city, and halted at the church that night, sending out pickets. We remained in the church until the night of the 16th, when the 61st got the order to fall-in at three the next morning, nobody knowing what for; the colonel telling us at the same time, we had some hot work to do before we dined. We fell-in, and were told-off to four divisions, twenty-two file each—in all, 176. That was all we could muster, we had so many sick and wounded. We marched towards the magazine, stormed the breach without any noise, and got the word 'Charge!' and no doubt our boys did charge with a vengeance, shouting like madmen, and killing every one that came within our reach. I think we took the rascals by surprise, or they would not have given up the place so easily. We had two men killed, and about six wounded. After getting into the magazine, they came down by hundreds; but they could do us very little harm. We being inside and they out, the fools commenced pelting stones at us, and trying to burn down a lot of sheds that were in the place. We captured 148 guns, besides a lot of shot, shell, and ammunition. Our work was now done for that day. I am only writing about our own regiment. Other regiments were doing equally as much good as ourselves. There were the 8th, 52nd, 60th rifles, 75th, 1st and 2nd Europeans, all fighting as hard in other parts of the city; and out of all these regiments they could not form 3,000 men, the army was suffering so much from sickness. We were relieved from the magazine by the 52nd regiment, and then our regiment was divided; some went to the bank, and others to different pickets in the city. On the morning of the 20th, part of our regiment and the rifles took the palace, with very little opposition on the part of the enemy; and that finished the taking of Delhi. A royal salute was fired on the morning of the 21st of September on the walls of Delhi, in honour of the capture of the city, palace, &c. We expected to have taken the king in the palace, but he was too wide-awake for us at that time: he escaped, but he was taken by our people about thirty miles from Delhi, with his sons. They were all brought back. Two of his sons were shot the other day, and the king is now a prisoner, awaiting his trial. A European sergeant-major of the 28th native infantry was taken prisoner, trying to make his escape from Delhi. He is also awaiting his trial. He had given assistance to the sepoys after the mutiny broke out."

annual grant of £100,000 being paid to him as an equivalent for his independence; out of which he was required to support the vast retinue of relations and dependents collected within the walls of the imperial residence, who altogether numbered some 12,000 persons. Notwithstanding the degraded position to which this prince had sunk as a mere pensioner on a commercial company, both Hindoos and Mussulmans throughout the vast empire that had bowed to the undisputed sway of his predecessors, still looked up to him as the only representative of the ancient glories of India. Princes still sought from his hands the solemn and legal investiture of their states; he bestowed robes of honour on the native chiefs upon their accession to the musnud, as tokens of his suzerainty; and more than once attempted a similar assumption of superiority upon the appointment of a governor-general of the East India Company. Until the year 1827, it is alleged, that the Company acquired no new province without formally applying to the king of Delhi for his nominal sanction and royal firman to confirm their title. At length, during the administration of Lord Amherst, in 1827, this false position on both sides was corrected, by taking from the powerless occupant of a shadowy throne this last vestige he possessed of independent sovereignty, in exchange for an increased pension of £150,000. The implied vassalage of the Company to the great padishah or ruler of India, was thrown aside as a troublesome fiction; and from that time Shah Akber became utterly powerless beyond the walls of his palace, except in regard to the traditional and historic influences of a race of which he was still the living representative, and, as such, continued to be looked up to by the descendants of the millions who had borne allegiance to the house of Timur.

Shah Akber reigned absolute within the walls of his domestic kingdom until his death in the year 1849, having for some time previous endeavoured to procure the sanction of the governor-general to his choice of a successor to the titular throne of Delhi, which he desired should be occupied by one of his younger sons, thereby setting aside the claims of the eldest-born. This arrangement was not permitted by the Company; and, consequently, upon the death of the Shah, his eldest son, Mirza Aboo Zuffur, became king, assuming the title of Mahomed Suraj-oo-deen Shah Ghazee. This prince must have been between sixty and seventy years of age upon his accession to the throne, which he occupied until it was shattered into fragments by his connection with the sepoy revolt of 1857.

From the accession of Suraj-oo-deen in 1849, until the month of May, 1857, when the incidents occurred of which he ultimately became the victim, the king resided in Oriental seclusion and barbaric pomp within the boundaries of his palace, without exciting the notice or awakening the jealousies of the stranger race into whose hands the staff of his imperial power had passed. On the morning of Monday, the 11th of May, 1857, a party of mounted horsemen, soiled with dust and blood, and reeking with the foam of hasty flight from the massacre at Meerut, appeared beneath the walls of the palace, proclaiming that the rule of the Feringhee was at an end, and that Hindoostan was again under the independent sovereignty of its native princes, of whom the king of Delhi was chief. After a short parley, the troopers were, by the king's order, admitted within the palace, and announced to him that the whole of Hindoostan had risen to shake off the yoke of the English; that Calcutta, their capital, and other chief towns, were already in possession of the native army, which had risen against their officers; and that it only required that his majesty would unfurl the sacred standard of the Mohammedan empire, and the whole of the warlike millions of India would rally round it, and re-establish the independent throne of Timur by driving the English intruders into the sea, or feeding the vultures with their carcasses. During the conference, some troops of artillery, which had also deserted from Meerut the previous night, reached the city, and, entering by the Calcutta gate near the palace, fired a royal salute in front of it. This incident decided the wavering inclinations of the aged king; and he consented to the demand of the troopers, whose numbers were increased by the accession of the native regiments in cantonment near Delhi. From that moment the sword of destruction was suspended over the head of the king, and but a short time elapsed ere it fell. Meanwhile, the soldiers exulting in their triumph over his scruples, and feeling they had now a rallying-point under any emergency, rushed from the presence of the infatuated monarch, to satiate their thirst for blood by the massacre of such Europeans as fell into their hands.

At length, on the 8th of June, 1857, an English force, numbering altogether about 3,000 men, under the command of Major-general Sir Henry W. Barnard, after a sharp conflict with a portion of the rebel army, which vainly attempted to arrest its progress, succeeded in taking up a position upon an elevated ridge about a mile from the city, which it commanded. From that moment the doom of the rebel capital, though for a time deferred, was felt to be inevitable.

The royal troops of Delhi had now other occupation found for them besides eating the king's sweetmeats; but, according to a native account, however valiantly they acquitted themselves behind walls and loopholed buildings, they had little stomach for fighting in the open field. The native writer of a diary kept the first few weeks of the siege, says—"The bravery of the royal troops deserves every praise: they are very clever indeed. When they wish to leave the field of battle, after shooting down many Feringhees, they tie a piece of rag on their leg, and pretend to have been wounded, and so come into the city lame and groaning, accompanied by many of their friends to assist them along." The same writer also says—"The shells have destroyed lots of houses in the city; and in the fort, the marble of the king's private hall is broken to pieces. His majesty is very much alarmed when a shell bursts in the fort, and the princes show him the pieces. Many of the royal family have left the palace through fear." Again, on the 22nd of July, the same writer says—"The other day the king sent for the Subahdar Bahadoor, who commands the troops in the fort, and desired him either to remove him out of the fort, or do something to stop the British shelling, which was very destructive. The subahdar begged his majesty to remain in the fort another day, and during that time he assured him he would devise means to put a stop to the annoyance." It is needless to say the subahdar did not keep his word.

At length, on the 18th of September, it was reported to Major-general Wilson, by spies from the city, that the king, with his sons, the three royal regiments, and some other corps of native infantry, and troopers of the light cavalry, had secured themselves in the palace, and were determined to resist to the last man: but almost immediately upon this announcement, indications of a design to evacuate the palace were apparent; and, during the night of the 19th, the king and princes, with their women and attendants, accompanied by a considerable number of the troops, retired from the royal residence to seek a temporary refuge near the palace of the Cootub Minar, about nine miles from the city, whither, on the following day, they were pursued and captured by Captain Hodson and a party of fifty of his irregular horse. The incidents of the occurrence are thus described in a letter to the brother of Captain Hodson, by an officer intimately acquainted with the operations of that distinguished commander, and who had the details at the time from the lips of himself and other eye-witnesses of the facts related. This officer, after some preliminary remarks as to former meritorious services of Captain Hodson, says—"On our taking possession of the city gate, reports came in that thousands of the enemy were evacuating the city by the other gates, and that the king, also, had left his palace. We fought our way inch by inch to the palace walls, and then found truly enough that its vast arena was void. The very day after we took possession of the palace (the 20th), Captain Hodson received information that the king and his family had gone, with a large force, out of the Ajmere gate to the Cootub. He immediately reported this to the general commanding, and asked whether he did not intend to send a detachment in pursuit, as, with the king at liberty and heading so large a force, our victory was next to useless, and we might be the besieged instead of besiegers. General Wilson replied that he could not spare a single European. He then volunteered to lead a party of the irregulars; but this offer was also refused, though backed up by Neville Chamberlain.

"During this time messengers were coming in constantly; and, among the rest, one from Zeenat Mahal (the favourite begum), with an offer to use her influence with the king to surrender on certain conditions. These conditions at first were ludicrous enough—viz., that the king and the whole of the males of his family should be restored to his palace and honours; that not only should his pension be continued, but the arrears since May be paid up, with several other equally modest demands. I need not say these were treated with contemptuous denial. Negotiations, however, were vigorously carried on; and care was taken to spread reports of an advance in force to the Cootub.

to a small building in one of the courts of the imperial residence, where, under a proper guard, they remained, with about half-a-dozen attendants, until their final destiny was decided upon.

A letter from the palace, dated the 24th of September, describes a visit to the dethroned and captive majesty of Delhi in the following terms:—"The day after the king was caught, I went to see him with two or three officers. He was in a house in a street called the Lall Kooa-street—i.e., the Red Wall-street. He was lying on a bed with cushions, &c., a man fanning him, and two or three servants about. He is, and looks very old, being very much wasted; has a very hooked nose, and short white beard, and is by no means regal looking. He seemed in a great fright, and apparently thought we had come to insult him; so we merely looked at him and came away." Another correspondent writes—"We have seen the king and royal family; they are in ruinous little rooms in one of the gates of the palace. The old king looks very frail, and has a blank, fixed eye, as of one on whom life is fast closing. He certainly is too old to be responsible for anything that has been done."

An officer who, in his tour of duty, had charge of the royal prisoner, writes thus:—"I was on guard over the king and his wives and concubines on the 24th and 25th, and was obliged to be much on the alert to prevent rescue or attempts at escape. I was ordered to shoot him if things came to the last extremity. Yesterday I handed him over to a guard of the 60th rifles, and was exceedingly glad to be relieved of so responsible a position."

The requirements of justice had now to be satisfied by the punishment of the royal traitor and his rebellious sons; the latter having also taken an active part in the early massacres at the palace and the Khotwallee. The king himself was reserved, on the ground of his advanced age (eighty-five), for the more formal and deliberate procedure of a military commission; but for his principal agents in the dire work of rebellion and murder, no unnecessary delay was allowed to interpose, and their fate was as promptly decided as the severity of it was merited. Two of his sons and a grandson had already paid the penalty of their crimes by death, at the hands of Captain Hodson; and shortly afterwards, two others of the princes were captured, and, after being tried by a military tribunal, were also shot.

On the 10th of October, a message was transmitted from the governor-general in council to General Wilson, from which the following is an extract:—"If, as has been reported to the governor-general in council, the king of Delhi has received from any British officer a promise that his life will be spared, you are desired to send him to Allahabad, under an escort, as soon as that can be safely done. The escort must be strong enough to resist all attempts at a rescue, and must consist, in part, of some European infantry and cavalry, with field guns. Any member of the king's family who is included in the promise, is to be sent with the king. You will appoint one or two officers specially to take charge of the king, who is to be exposed to no indignity or needless hardship. If no promise of his life has been given to the king, he is to be brought to trial under Act 14, of 1857. The special commissioners appointed for this purpose are, Mr. Montgomery, judicial commissioner of the Punjab; Mr. C. G. Barnes, commissioner of the Cis-Sutlej states; and Major Lake, commissioner of the Trans-Sutlej states. You will summon these officers at once to Delhi, in the event of a trial of the king taking place. Mr. C. B. Saunders will act as prosecutor, will collect the evidence, and frame the charges. Should the king be found guilty, the sentence is to be carried out without further reference to the governor-general in council."

Shortly before the arrival of these instructions at Delhi, Major-general Wilson had resigned the command of the army on account of failing health, and was succeeded by Major-general Penny, who, on the 22nd of the month, wrote thus to the secretary of the government:—"Your message to Major-general Wilson, now sick at Mussoorie, has been sent to him to explain under what conditions the king's life was promised him.* The king, agreeably to instructions, will be sent to the fort at Allahabad as soon as the road shall be freely opened; but that cannot be immediately."

Some time elapsed before any active measures were adopted with regard to the

* The condition was simply that he should surrender without resistance. See preceding page. *Vide* also *History of the Indian Mutiny*, vol. i., p. 510.

preter taking the customary oaths. The prosecutor then read the charges against the prisoner, and proceeded to address the court in a clear, concise, explanatory manner, observing, that although the prisoner might be fully convicted by the court, no capital sentence could be passed upon him, in consequence of his life having been guaranteed by General Wilson, in a promise conveyed through Captain Hodson.

The prosecutor then put the question, through the interpreter, "guilty or not guilty?" which the prisoner either did not, or affected not to understand; and there was some difficulty in explaining it to him. He then declared himself profoundly ignorant of the nature of the charges against him, although a translated copy of them was furnished and read to him, in the presence of witnesses, some twenty days previous. After some more delay, the prisoner pleaded "not guilty," and the business of the court proceeded. A number of documents, of various descriptions, and of greater or lesser importance, were then read by the prosecutor; these had been translated into English, and consisted chiefly of petitions from all classes of natives to the "Shelter of the World:" they were very curious, some complaining of outrages committed by the sowars and sepoys in the city and suburbs, others bringing forward the delinquencies of his ex-majesty's offspring, who were accused of extorting money and property of all descriptions from the people. Others referred to the appointment of officers to the rebel army, and the disposal of liquor found in the magazine, but not whispered in Mohammedan circles; while some related to more important matters connected with the "new reign"—one and all concluding with a prayer that such reign should be as long as the world lasted. Most of these "state papers" bore the autograph orders and signature of the prisoner, written in pencil at the top, and were sworn to by competent witnesses, thereby affording conclusive proof of the active part taken by him in the rebellion.

The court was occupied the remainder of the day with these documents, during the reading of which the prisoner appeared to be dozing, or contemplating his son, who presented much the appearance of a Massalchee, as he stood by, occasionally laughing and conversing with the attendant. Neither one nor the other appeared to be much affected by their position, but, on the contrary, seemed to look upon the affair as one of the necessities of their destiny.

On the second day, the military commission resumed its sitting at 11 o'clock A.M. The court was mainly occupied in listening to petitions relating to occurrences of small importance, during the prisoner's brief reign; of most of which he pleaded entire ignorance, denied the signatures, and endeavoured, by voice and gesture, to impress the court with an idea of his innocence. Each paper, as it was read, was shown to the prisoner's vakeel; and thus the business of the court proceeded up to about 1 o'clock P.M., when a document, translated into English, was read—apparently a remonstrance from one Nubbee Bux Khan to the prisoner, urging him to reject the request of the army for permission to massacre the European women and children confined in the palace. The writer submitted that such massacre would be contrary to the Mohammedan religion and law; and stated, that unless the army could procure a *futwa*, it should not be put into execution. This document the government prosecutor informed the court, was the only one among the heap before him in which the spirit of mercy and kindness to Europeans could be traced; and it was remarkable, that it was one of the very few upon which the prisoner had not entered some remarks. Soon after the above-mentioned paper had been read, the prisoner, who had been for some time reclining in a lethargic state, commenced to groan and to complain of feeling unwell; and it soon became evident that the court must close its sitting. The prisoner was remonstrated with, through the interpreter, but he begged to be allowed to leave; and, at half-past one o'clock, the president adjourned the court until 11 A.M. on the 29th instant.

The trial of the ex-king commenced, on the third day, at the appointed hour. The prisoner was brought into court in a palanquin, attended by his vakeel, Abbas, and two servants; Jumma Bukht having received a hint to remain in confinement, owing to the manner assumed by him during the first day's trial. Up to half-past twelve the court was occupied in having read to the prisoner the vernacular of the translations read to the court the day previous; a process not very interesting to the

prisoner, who up to this time had been sleeping. He was awake for the purpose, and appeared to listen attentively, making some remark at the conclusion of each, and indicating by signs during the reading, that he knew nothing whatever about them. He appeared in much better health and humour than on any of the previous days, and laughed in great spirits as each successive paper was taken up to be read, as if quite amused at there being so many.

Up to nearly half-past one o'clock on the fifth day, the court was occupied in reading documents in the vernacular; but when these had been disposed of, the translations of the military papers were read, and afforded considerable amusement to the court. These consisted chiefly of petitions, upon various subjects, from "The Lord Sahib, Mirza Mogul, commander-in-chief of the royal army," Bukht Khan Bahadoor, and other traitors. In some, the helpless state of the "infidels" was set forth in the most glowing terms, pointing out how, with very slight assistance and delay, they would be sent to a place even Mohammedan murderers are never to see; others pointing out how certain districts had been brought under the "royal rule," and treasure obtained by the revolt of those whose duty it was to guard its safety; while all were full of hatred to the "infidels," and unbounded love for the king. To most of these documents the prisoner's autograph orders and signature in pencil had been attached.

The sixth day's trial commenced at 11 A.M. of the 2nd of February. The early part of the day was occupied in reading original documents relating to military matters, the English versions of which were read the day previous: at the conclusion of which, the translation of a letter, dated the 24th of March, addressed to the late Mr. Colvin, lieutenant-governor, North-West Provinces, was read, disclosing the fact, that as far back as a year and a-half previous, secret emissaries were sent by the king of Delhi to Persia, through the agency of one Mahomed Hussun Uskeeree, the object of which was evidently to obtain assistance to complete the overthrow of British power in India. The perusal of the letter, which bore both the Delhi and Agra post-mark, excited considerable sensation in court, and led to a severe cross-examination, by the judge-advocate, of Ehsain-oolla Khan, the prisoner's hakeem, whose evidence partly corroborated the fact of the emissaries having been sent. The witness further stated, that Hussun Uskeeree was not unknown to him; that he was supposed to possess the art of foretelling events, interpreting dreams, &c.; and that one of the prisoner's daughters, named Nawaub Baigam, had become a disciple of his, and was supposed to be his mistress. There was, however, a decided disinclination, on the part of the hakeem, to implicate the prisoner, the witness always endeavouring to absolve him from all knowledge of, or participation in, the acts deposed to. In one or two instances this was so apparent as to create a smile. When questioned as to the feeling displayed by the native inhabitants of Delhi regarding the war between England and Persia, the witness replied that the feeling was scarcely perceptible, but that it was in favour of the British; the Persians being Sheeahs, and the Mohammedans of Persia Soonnees. He further stated, that the Persian proclamation posted at the Jumma Musjid created little or no sensation, and that its genuineness was doubted. He said that the war between England and Persia was not the subject of conversation among the Mohammedans of Delhi, and that the prisoner had never mentioned it. The whole of his evidence tended to implicate, to a considerable extent, the Shah of Persia; and to lead the court to believe that the prisoner was entirely innocent of any complicity in the intrigues that were going on.

On the seventh day, the court commenced proceedings by the examination, through the interpreter, of a person named Jutmull, formerly news-writer to the lieutenant-governor at Agra. His evidence was most important; and, notwithstanding an apparent desire to criminate the prisoner as little as possible, was most damaging to the royal cause. The witness corroborated the statement regarding the emissaries from the prisoner to Persia, about the time the Persians advanced upon Herat; the time corresponding with that given by the hakeem the day previous. He also mentioned the firm belief of many in the powers possessed by Hussun Uskeeree, and related a remarkable dream of the prophet shortly before the mission left Delhi for Persia. It was thus related. Hussun Uskeeree saw a mighty black storm coming from the west, accompanied by a great rush of water, which increased to such an extent, that the whole country was overwhelmed. In the midst of this storm was the prisoner (the ex-king of Delhi), seated

and was the subject of much conversation during the time it lasted; and he concluded by stating some facts confided to him by John Everet, a Christian rissaldar of the 14th irregular cavalry, from which it appeared, that the attempt to overthrow the British government was known to be in contemplation before the outrage commenced.

At the conclusion of Sir T. Metcalfe's evidence, the prisoner was asked if he would like to put any questions. He replied in the negative, but wished to know if the Persians and Russians were the same people!

The court adjourned about 1 P.M., to allow time for the "wise man," Hussun Uskeeree, who had been sent for, to appear. On the court reassembling after an absence of about half-an-hour, the soothsayer appeared in court. He did not strike the beholder as a very fascinating sort of fellow; and it was, therefore, probably the effect of enchantment that led the king's daughter to become his "disciple."

Hussun Uskeeree having been sworn and examined, denied all that had been said of the wonderful powers attributed to him. He said that, whatever others might be pleased to think of him, it was merely a matter of opinion, and that he was not at all answerable for it. That he was an humble individual, content to live in peace without troubling himself about dreams, whether of kings or peasants. He denied that he ever had a dream of a great form from the west; in fact, he denied everything.

The prisoner was then referred to, and, notwithstanding his recorded statement of his firm belief in the powers attributed to the witness, he denied all knowledge of him or his powers. He was reminded of his statement made but a few days previous; but all to no purpose: he completely ignored him; and Hussun Uskeeree was returned to his place of confinement, much to the disgust of those who expected some interesting revelations from him.

The next witness called was Bukhtawur, a peon in the service of the late Captain Douglas. His evidence chiefly related to the occurrences of the 11th of May, from the first appearance of the mutinous troopers to the murder of Mr. Fraser, C.S., Captain Douglas, Mr. Hutchinson, C.S., Mr. Jennings, and the ill-fated ladies of his family. It appeared—and all the evidence on this point tended to confirm the sad tale—that Captain Douglas, Mr. Hutchinson, and Mr. Nixon, were near the Calcutta gate, leading to the bridge of boats, when four or five of the mutineers came up, and that the troopers all fired upon the party, but that only Mr. Nixon was killed and Mr. Hutchinson wounded. The Europeans jumped down from the road into the dry ditch surrounding the palace, Captain Douglas being much hurt in his descent: they ran along the ditch, and gained the gates of the palace, which they entered and closed. Mr. Fraser came soon after, and was admitted; and, at one period of the attack, he appears to have seized a musket from one of the sepoys at the gate, and shot one of the troopers, upon which the others galloped off; but being reinforced by numbers, they soon became bolder. At the suggestion of Mr. Jennings, Captain Douglas was taken up to his own apartments above the gateway; and soon after this, a party of people from the palace came rushing forward, shouting, "Deen! Deen!" (the Faith! the Faith!) and a crowd gathering, they, headed by the native officer of the guard at the palace (a company of the 88th light infantry), surrounded and murdered, in the most brutal manner, the whole party. One mob went up one way to the hiding-place of the victims; another proceeded in a different direction; so that none escaped. Meantime the work of destruction was going on outside, other troopers having arrived; and it became necessary for every one to look to his own safety: the witnesses (Hindoos) consequently left, and were unable to relate anything further. Another witness was called, named Kishen, his statement being much the same as that of the prisoner's witness, Bukhtawur. The evidence, so far as it had gone, was conclusive on one point—viz., that the inmates of the palace assisted at the murder of Messrs. Fraser, Jennings, Hutchinson, Captain Douglas, and the ladies; and, while several witnesses affirmed that the prisoner tried to persuade Captain Douglas from his intention of going among the mutineers, not one attempted to show that he exerted his influence to check the disturbance at its commencement, or to save the Europeans at his gate.

On the eleventh day, the court resumed, and was occupied the whole day with the examination of a person named Chune, formerly editor of a native paper, entitled the *Delhi News*. The witness gave some important evidence, and confirmed the

wife with a spear, they contrived to keep the ruffians at bay for some time, Mrs. Beresford killing one and wounding another. They were at length overpowered, and the whole party murdered. With them were, it was supposed, the Rev. Mr. Hubbard, and another missionary, who had gone to the Bank for safety. The house where they were all slaughtered still bore marks of the struggle.

The prisoner's hakeem, Ehsain-oolla Khan, was then called in, and examined on oath. His evidence always broke down when verging to a certain point—namely, criminating the prisoner. He denied that he was in the prisoner's confidence, and said, that many important matters connected with the household were never mentioned to him, instancing, among other things, the prisoner's repudiation of his wife Taj Mahal, after having been regularly married to her. He admitted that the king's armed "servants" numbered about twelve hundred men; and, in reply to a question by the prosecutor, said that they had not been dismissed in consequence of the part taken by them in the death of Mr. Fraser, Captain Douglas, and the other Europeans murdered in the palace. Notwithstanding a severe cross-examination, it was plain to be seen that, beyond mere generalities, nothing could be gained from the witness; and the court adjourned.

The prisoner was more lively than usual on this day; he declared his innocence of everything several times; and amused himself by twisting and untwisting a scarf round his head, and occasionally asking for a stimulant.

On the thirteenth day (Feb. 11th), the prisoner's hakeem was again examined; but his evidence was not of much moment, inasmuch as, notwithstanding the severe cross-examination to which he was subjected, his leaning to the prisoner was strikingly apparent. At the conclusion of the witness's evidence, Mrs. Aldwell was called, sworn, and examined by the judge-advocate. Her evidence consisted mainly of a narrative of hairbreadth escapes in Delhi, extending over a period of near five months' residence in the city—viz., from the day of the mutiny until the reoccupation of the city by the British troops. The main points were as follows:—The witness resided at Duryagunge; and on the arrival of the mutineers, the house where she lived was defended for some time by a few Europeans there assembled; who, failing at last in defending themselves, were captured; the witness, and some children only, escaping in the disguise of Mohammedans to the house of Mirza Abdoolah, a shahzadah, with whom she was previously acquainted. They were well received by the females of the shahzadah's family, and promised protection; but during the night of the 11th of May, they were sent to the house of the Mirza's mother-in-law, for greater security, and considered themselves safe. On Mrs. Aldwell, however, sending to the Mirza's house for some money and valuables left behind, Mirza Abdoolah sent word to say, that if any more messengers were sent to the house, the whole party should be murdered. They were subsequently brought before Mirza Mogul, and ordered for execution; but some sepoy took charge of them, and kept them in confinement. A tailor in Mrs. Aldwell's employ appears to have befriended the family throughout; and, through his influence with a sowar, she and her children appear to have been preserved. Herself and children were taught the kulmah; and, notwithstanding strong suspicions of their being Christians, they were all wonderfully preserved until the 9th of September, just before the assault, and proceeded in a bylee to Meerut. The witness gave some evidence upon interesting points connected with her sojourn in the city; among other things stating, that when in confinement, together with some twenty or thirty other women and children, the sepoy were in the habit of paying them visits; telling them they should all be cut into little pieces to feed the kites and crows! When their fellow-prisoners were sent for to be slaughtered, the order was given to "bring out the Christians," and leave the Mohammedans (meaning Mrs. Aldwell and her children) to be dealt with afterwards. The witness described this scene as heartrending; the unfortunate creatures declared that they were about to be murdered; but the Mohammedan mutineers swore on the Koran, and the Hindoos on the Gunga, that no harm should happen to them. They were then "massed together," and a rope passed round them (after the fashion at present in vogue when conducting rebels to their prison), and thus they were marched off to the place of execution. The witness said, in reply to a question put by the judge-advocate, that there were no disturbances between the Hindoos and Mohammedans during the siege;

with a loud voice, that the prisoner had given his consent, and the slaughter accordingly commenced. The ex-king, at this stage of the proceedings, looked up at the court, and putting his forefinger into his mouth, made an Asiatic sign, which is interpreted as "plucking his tongue out" if he gave any such consent! The prisoner appeared perfectly indifferent to the presence of his private secretary, and to what he said; and, except on the occasion above noticed, made no remark or sign whatever.

The prisoner was brought into court as usual, on the fifteenth day, and took his position upon the charpoy assigned to him. With the exception of another shawl twisted round his head, his appearance was unaltered. Mukhun Lall was called into court, and his examination continued. He stated, in reply to a question put by the judge-advocate, that the late prime minister, Maibhoob Ali Khan, was the only person he knew of in the prisoner's entire confidence, and that he himself was never admitted to the royal secrets. That at the private conferences, Maibhoob Ali, Hussun Uskeeree, the begum (Zeenat Mahal), and two of the prisoner's daughters, were generally present, and that by their counsel he was generally guided. He said that after the mutineers from Meerut, together with those cantoned at Delhi, had taken possession of the city, he did not remember any attempt being made to induce other regiments at distant stations to join them. And, in reply to a question by the judge-advocate, stated, that two days after the British troops had entered the city, or on the 16th of September, the prisoner went out with the mutineers as far as Khan Ali Khan's house (about 300 or 400 yards from the palace gates) in an open litter, for the purpose of encouraging them in driving the English out again; but that he very soon halted, and his brave army dispersed; or, in other words, came back faster than they went. The court and the prisoner's counsel declining to ask any questions, the witness was allowed to withdraw.

Captain Tytler (late 38th light infantry) was then called into court, and examined. After deposing to the fact of the arrival in cantonments of a dawk carriage, full of natives, the night previous to the mutiny, and to the occurrences on the morning of the 11th of May, Captain Tytler was questioned by the judge-advocate as to whether he had, prior to the mutiny, remarked anything which induced him to believe that his regiment was unfaithful. He replied in the negative, but said that he had since heard certain rumours, from which he inferred that there must have been some secret meetings among the men in cantonments; and a servant, a bearer of his, on taking leave to go to his home, a short time before the outbreak, remarked that he would return to the service if Captain Tytler's choola* still burnt bright! The prisoner was asked by the interpreter, what was the meaning of the above remark by the bearer? and he laughingly replied, that it meant nothing in particular; that the man who made it must have been some hungry fellow, who was always thinking of eating.

Sergeant Fleming, late Bazaar sergeant of Delhi, was then called into court, and, in reply to the judge-advocate (government prosecutor), said that he was Bazaar sergeant at the time of the outbreak. His son, a youth about nineteen years of age, was employed as a writer in the commissioner's office, and had been in the habit, for five or six years, of exercising the horses belonging to the prisoner's son, Jewan Bukht; for which service he received a monthly stipend. That some time in the latter end of April, his son went one morning to the house of Maibhoob Ali Khan, the prime minister, and there met Jewan Bukht; the latter commenced abusing him, declaring that the sight of a Kaffir Feringhee disturbed his serenity—spat in the youth's face, and desired him to leave. Young Fleming obeyed the order, and reported the conduct of Jewan Bukht to the late Mr. Fraser, who told him he was a fool, and should not notice such nonsense! On another occasion, early in May last, the witness's son went to Maibhoob's house to receive his pay; there he again met Jewan Bukht, who abused him in worse language than on the former occasion, and concluded by declaring that he would have his, young Fleming's, head off before many days passed over. "And," added the poor father, "he kept his word, for my son was killed on the 11th of May!"

The witness being allowed to withdraw, the judge-advocate informed the court that it would be necessary to adjourn for a few days, to allow papers to be translated, from which he expected important disclosures. The court was therefore adjourned *sine die*.

* Hearth still burning; meaning literally, "If you and your house continue in existence."

came into the city, and was given to understand that some sowars were on the bridge, and had murdered the sergeant at that place, and set his bungalow on fire.

"The rebel sowars, after murdering the sergeant at the bridge, came below the lattice of the palace, and represented to his majesty that they had come to fight for the sake of 'Deen,' and that they required the gate to be opened for their entrance. The king sent information of this to the officer commanding the palace guard, who instantly went to the spot, and said to the sowars that they were scoundrels, and ordered them to go away. In reply, the sowars uttered their revenge on him.

"Mr. Fraser, on hearing of the massacre of the sergeant at the bridge, went to the Cashmere gate, and told the sepoys on the main-guard that some troops, who had acted disloyally at Meerut, had arrived; and that as they (the sepoys) were old servants of the government, he required their assistance to put down the mutineers. The sepoys replied, that they would have no objection to go against a foreign enemy; but, in the present instance, they would not act. At this time, Jewala Sing, jemadar of the commissioner, informed Mr. Fraser that all the Mussulmans of the city were inclined to rebellion, and requested him to go out of the city immediately; but he replied that he would never do so. The shops of the city were all closed. The Rev. Mr. Jennings, and another European, went on the palace guard tower, to inspect the mutineers by the help of a telescope.

"The officer commanding the palace guard, after speaking to the mutineers under the lattice of the palace, went in a buggy to Mr. Fraser, who was at the Calcutta gate—took a letter out of his pocket, and handed it over to him for perusal. The orderly sowars of the commissioner were ordered to be very cautious.

"The Mussulmans of the Khanumka Bazaar went to the Rajghat gate, made some conditions with the rebel sowars, and opened the gate for them. The sowars having thus found their entrance into the city, commenced murdering the Europeans; and after they had murdered some of them at Duryagunge, and burnt their houses, they came to the hospital, and killed the sub-assistant surgeon, Chummun Lall. The Mussulmans of the city informed them that the Commissioner Sahib was on the Calcutta gate. They accordingly galloped there, and fired a number of pistols and muskets at him, but without effect: however, two other European gentlemen were shot on this occasion. The orderly sowars of the commissioner, who were all Mussulmans, made no attempt to oppose the mutineers; but the commissioner himself, taking the musket of a sowar, wounded one of them, and instantly getting in his buggy along with the officer commanding the palace guard, fled towards the palace gate: the latter reached his residence at the top of the palace guard, but Mr. Fraser was attacked and killed on the stairs. The mutinous sowars, after that, went to the residence of the killadar—massacred him, the Rev. Mr. Jennings and daughter, and another European. The Mussulmans of the city plundered all the property found in the houses of the officer commanding the palace guard, and other European residents in the city.

"Sir T. Metcalfe left the city by the Ajmere gate on horseback, with a drawn sword in his hand: some rebel sowars pursued him as far as Bazaar Chaoree, but were unable to catch him. The moochees, saddlers, and shoemakers at the Ajmere gate also took their cudgels, and wished to catch and kill him, but were not successful.

"The three regiments of native infantry, stationed at Delhi, joined the mutineers; and after killing a few of their European officers, entered the city, and murdered all the Christians—men, women, and children—they could find in the houses and bungalows at Duryagunge, Cashmere gate, and Colonel Skinner's kothee.

"The Mussulmans of the city, and even some of the Hindoos, joined the mutineers, and destroyed all the Thadnas and the Khotwallee. They then attacked the Bank, and tried to murder the two gentlemen, three ladies, and two children, who were sitting there; but as the Europeans had their pistols loaded, the mutineers did not venture to come near them. A Mussulman got on a tree, but was shot by them. The mutineers then set the Bank house on fire; and the Europeans, having no means of escape, were overpowered and killed by the rebel sowars and Mussulmans with cudgels.

"The Mussulmans followed the mutineers everywhere with shouts of '*hyderee*!' (usually exclaimed on a victory). All the money in the government treasury was shared by the sepoys of the three regiments of native infantry stationed at Delhi. The Magistrate's,

tom-tom in the city, that should any sepoy be caught plundering any inhabitant, his nose and ears should be cut off; and that if any shopkeeper would not open his shop, or declined to provide the sepoy with food, he would be imprisoned and fined. Taj Mahal Begum, who was in confinement, was released. Two Europeans, disguised in native dress, were arrested and killed by the rebel sowars near the Khotwallee.

"The king, attended by two regiments of infantry and a few guns, went out on an elephant, with Mirza Jewan Bukht behind him, into the city, for the purpose of having the Lazhar opened. He went as far as Chandnee Chouk, and requested the shopkeepers to open their shops and provide the troops with supplies. Hasun Alee Khan was introduced by Hakeem Ahsuncollah Khan. He presented a gold mohur as nuzzur to the king, who ordered him to wait, as he had to consult with him.

"A shawl, for the office of khotwal of the city, was conferred on Mirza Moeen-ood-deen Hasun Khan, who returned thanks with a nuzzur of four rupees.

"13th May, 1857.—Nawab Maibhoob Ali Khan and other chiefs attended the durbar, and paid their respects. Nazir Hasun Mirza was ordered to bring Mirza Ameen-ood-deen Khan; accordingly he went out for that purpose. On his return, he informed the king that the Mirza was indisposed, and therefore could not present himself in the durbar. Ordered that Khotwal Moeen-ood-deen Khan be informed, that the troops were unable to get supplies, therefore he must provide for them. Hasun Alee Khan, attending the king, told him that the troops were already assembled in the palace, and he wanted his advice on the subject. The said Khan remarked that the troops were bloody ones; they had murdered their own officers, and it was not prudent to repose any confidence in them. Shah Nizam-ood-deen, the son of the king's spiritual guide, and Boodhun Sahib, son of the late Nawab Mohumed Meer Khan, were taken into the council. Mirza Mogul Beg, Mirza Khedur Sooltan, and Mirza Abdoolah, were made colonels of the regiments of infantry, and ordered to take with each of them two guns, and adopt measures to protect the Cashmere, Lahore, and Delhi gates. Shah Nizam-ood-deen represented, that some Toork sowars having arrested Nawab Hamud Alee Khan, upon an accusation of his concealing some Englishmen in his house, had brought him on foot to the jewel office, before Nawab Maibhoob Ali Khan, and that the said nawab declared he had no Europeans in his house. The king requested him (Shah Nizam-ood-deen) to go with the sowars and sepoy, and let them search the house of the nawab. Accordingly, he and Mirza Abboo Bekr went out for that purpose; but finding no Europeans in the house, they obliged the troops to give back the property they had plundered him of, and set him at liberty. Mirza Abboo Bekr was made colonel in the light cavalry.

"Information was received by the sowars, that twenty-nine Europeans—men, women, and children—were concealed in the house of Rajah Kullyan Sing, of Kishenghur. Accordingly they went there; and having caught the Christians, shot them all by a volley of their muskets. After that they went to the house of the late Colonel Skinner; and having arrested the son of the late Mr. Joseph Skinner, brought him before the Khotwallee, and murdered him there. They also, at the instigation of some person, plundered the houses of Narain Dass (banker) and Ramsurn Dass (deputy-collector), under the pretence of their concealing some Europeans in their houses. Kazees Nubboo and his son were killed by the rebel sepoy and sowars. Two Europeans, disguised in native dress, were massacred by the mutineers near the Budur Row gate. The king gave 400 rupees to each of the regiments, for their support. It was notified in the city by Moeen-ood-deen Hasun Khan, khotwal, that all persons wishing to serve his majesty should present themselves with their arms; and that if any person should be found to have concealed in his house any Europeans, he would be punished as guilty. Nawab Hamud Alee Khan and Walleedad Khan, of Malaghur, attended the durbar, and made their obeisance. His majesty ordered them to present themselves daily in the durbar. The head bunyas were sent for, and ordered to settle the rate of corn, and have the granaries opened, that it might be sold for the sepoy. Mirza Moeen-ood-deen Hasun Khan, khotwal, having engaged 200 burkandazes, stationed them at Cureeba and Chandnee Chouk, for the protection of those places. Two watermen were arrested at Lall Kooa for robbing. Kahey Khan, Surfuraz Khan, and many other vagabonds of the city, were also apprehended. Several men were arrested for plundering Subzee Mundee and Taleewarah.

were sent to present himself soon. Information was received that the collector of Rohtuck had left his post; that the treasure of that place was being plundered; and that at Goorgaon it was already carried off. The king ordered one regiment of infantry and some sowars to be sent to Rohtuck to fetch the treasure. Abdool Hakeem was ordered to entertain 400 Khasburdars at five rupees a-month each, and a regiment of sowars at twenty rupees a-month. Accordingly, 200 men were employed. Abdool Kadur, chatawallah, showed some papers to his majesty, and said that he would be able to make all arrangements they referred to. A letter was issued to the rissaldar of the cavalry, stating that Mirza Aboo Bekr was discharged from the office of commandant of cavalry, and that therefore they (the cavalry men) should act according to the orders of the king. Kazee Fyzoolah presented a rupee in nuzzur, and applied for the office of the Khotwallah of the city, and was accordingly appointed to that situation. A goldsmith, who had killed another goldsmith, was arrested and brought before the king. The Mewattees of Jaysingpoorah having plundered 4,000 rupees in cash, and all the property in the house of a European of the railway company, the sepoy hearing of it, resolved to plunder and blow up Jaysingpoorah, and to apprehend all the Mewattees there; but Lalla Boodh Sing, vakeel of the rajah of Jaysingpoorah, applied for the protection of the inhabitants of that place; and the king ordered that no sepoy be allowed to go there without his majesty's permission.

"It being reported that the sepoy and sowars were in the habit of haunting the city with drawn swords, and that the shopkeepers were afraid to open their shops, the king sent orders to the gates of the palace not to allow any sepoy to go about in the city with a drawn sword. The rissaldar of the nawab of Jhujjur's troops was ordered to pitch his tent at the Mahtab Bagh. Information was received that fourteen boats, laden with wheat, &c., were in the ghaut of Ramjee Dass's, goorwallah. Orders were sent to Dilvallee Mull, to take away the wheat for the use of the troops. Two sepoy, who had plundered 2,000 rupees from the Delhi bank, and deposited the same with Ramjee Dass, goorwallah, to be paid back at Lucknow, quarrelled between themselves; and the fact of their depositing the money being known to other sepoy, a company of an infantry regiment went to the house of the said Ramjee Dass, and obliged him to deliver the money to them. A letter was addressed to the bankers of the city, requiring their presence in the durbar. Rebel sowars and sepoy attended on the king, and complained that they had not as yet been allowed their clothing expenses, and that it appeared to them, that Hakeem Ahsunoollah Khan and Nawab Maibhoob Ali Khan were in collusion with the British. After that they went to the house of Lall Khan, and accused Shah Nizamood-deen Peerzadah of concealing two European ladies in his house. Peerzadah required them to bring forward their informant; and they produced a man, who said he had only heard so. Peerzadah represented that he had not concealed any European ladies in his house; but if they wished to plunder and kill him on that pretence, they had the power to do so. Nawab Maibhoob Ali Khan took his oath on the holy Koran that he had no confederacy with the English. The mutineers plundered all the property in the house of Aga Mahomed Hasunjan Khan, the Cabool name of Mohun Lall.

"16th May, 1857.—Hakeem Ahsunoollah Khan, Bukshee, Aga Sooltan, Captain Dildar Alee Khan, Rujub Alee Khan, and other chiefs, attended on the king, and made their obeisance. Rebel sepoy and sowars, with their officers, attended the durbar, and produced a letter, which they said they had intercepted at the Delhi gate. It had on it the seals of Hakeem Ahsunoollah Khan and Nawab Maibhoob Ali Khan. In this letter they said that the hakeem and nawab had requested the English to come immediately, take possession of the city, and nominate Mirza Jewan Bukht (son of the king by Zeenat Mahal Begum) as heir-apparent, and that they, the hakeem and nawab, would arrest and deliver to them all the mutineers in the city and palace. Nawab Maibhoob Ali Khan and Hakeem Ahsunoollah Khan inspected the letter, denied their writing it, and asserted that it was a trick of some person, and that the seals were forged by means of 'sayt khurree' (a kind of stone); they took out their own seals, and threw them before the rebel troops; pointed out the difference between them and those on the letter; and took their oaths on the holy Koran, that the letter was not written by them; but still the mutineers did not believe them. A person came and reported that some Europeans were concealed in the drain of the canal: accordingly, Mirza Aboo Bekr, attended by

obtain the money. Mohammed Bekr (editor of the *Oordoo Akbar*), with two companies of infantry and cavalry, was sent to oppose the Goojurs and Mewattees, and bring the treasure under their protection. The sepoy apprehended a furrash, servant of Mirza Mogul Beg, upon a charge of his giving information to the English; but he was released by the orders of Mirza Mogul Beg. A man came and reported that the Mewattees at Jaysingpoorah were wounded in plundering the property of a European at the railway; and it was found out that these Mewattees were lately in the service of the British zemindars of Undhoollee: they attended on the king, presented a rupee each, and said that they were followers of his majesty. The king ordered them to keep peace in their district, otherwise their village would be burnt. Two kossids, who were sent to Meerut for news, returned and said, that about 1,000 European soldiers, and some gentlemen, ladies, and children, had assembled at the cantonment Suddur Bazaar, prepared a dum-dumah on the Sooruj Koond, and mounted an Elephant battery over it, and that the roads from Meerut to Sahajampoor had been infested by Goojurs, who plundered every one within their grasp, and that they (the kossids) were well beaten and plundered by the Goojurs. His majesty ordered two companies of sepoy to be posted at the bridge for the protection of the passengers.

"Hakeem Abdeol Huq attended on the king, and presented five rupees. Five companies of the sappers and miners, who had arrived at Meerut from Roorkee, were requested by the English to stop there and discharge their duties; but the sepoy refused to do so, and therefore had a fight with the European soldiers at Meerut: many were killed, and those who escaped came to Delhi. Shookkas, addressed to Maharajah Nurrundur Sing, rajah of Putteeala, Rajah Ram Sing, of Jeypoor, and rajahs of Ulwur, Joudpoor, and Kotah Boondee, ordering them to present themselves immediately before his majesty, were dispatched to them by sowars. The verandah of Deewan Kishen Lall's house fell down, and two boys were killed under it. Information was received that the troops at Umballah had mutinied, and were on their way to Delhi.

"18th May, 1857.—The bands of the five infantry regiments attended on his majesty, and played. Kheluts, each consisting of a garment of kinkhawb, shawls, goshwara, turban, nosegay of silver and gold threads, sword and shield, were conferred on Mirza Mogul, for the office of general of the army; and on Mirza Kockuck, Mirza Khedur Sooitun, and Mirza Mayudheo, for that of the colonel of the infantry regiments. A like khelut was granted to Mirza Abco Bekr, for the colonelship of the light cavalry. Nuzzurs were presented—viz., by Mirza Mogul Beg, two gold mohurs; and other princes, one gold mohur and five rupees each. Hasun Alee Khan attended the durbar, and paid his respects to the king. He was ordered to attend daily and enlist troops; and a large portion of the country, the king said, should be granted to him. The khan replied that he should not be able to enlist troops; but he would wait on his majesty daily. Two sowars, who were sent with a shookka to Ulwur, returned, and said that several thousand Goojurs had infested the roads to rob and plunder the passengers; and that they (the sowars) had been plundered of everything they had, and were allowed to return only by fawning on these Goojurs; the letter they had was torn, and the pieces returned. A camel sowar, who was sent to the nawab of Furruckunggur with a shookka, returned, and said that the Goojurs on the roads would not allow him to proceed. The officers of the five companies of the sappers and miners attended the durbar, and represented, that on their arrival at Meerut, from Roorkee, they were quartered near the Dum-Dumah, in which all the European soldiers, gentlemen, women, and children, had collected, and by promises of great rewards and higher pay, tried to coax them to remain in their service; but when three-quarters of the night had passed, they fired grape on them, and killed about two hundred men; the remainder of the sepoy then ran away, and they now presented themselves for the service of his majesty. They were ordered to pitch their tents at Selimghur. Nawab Maibheeb Ali Khan prepared a list of the bankers of Delhi, and sent it by his own agent to Ramjee Dass, goorwallah, Ramjee Mull, soorwallah, and Selugram, treasurer, with orders to collect from the bankers five lacs of rupees for the expenses of the troops, which he said amounted to 2,500 rupees a-day. The said bankers waited on Nawab Maibheeb Ali Khan, and pointed out their inability to pay the amount: they said that they had been plundered of all their cash and property by the mutineers. Ramjee Dass requested the nawab to levy the money

By the time these documents were read, it was 4 P.M., and the court adjourned until 11 A.M. of the 24th of February.

On the seventeenth day (Feb. 24th), the court assembled at 11 A.M., when the proclamation of the Bareilly traitor, Khan Bahadoor Khan, was read in the original, for the benefit of the prisoner; after which the translation was read by the judge-advocate, for the benefit of the court. The following is the literal translation:—

“Proclamation.—Now, all rajahs, bestowers of favours and protectors of religion, be prepared to defend your faith and that of those under you. For the hope of your success I appeal to you. The great God has given you all mortal bodies for the defence of your religion, as is well known to all. For the destruction of the destroyers of religion he has given birth and power to all princes. It is needful, therefore, that all who have the power should slay the destroyers of religion, and that those who have not that power should reflect and devise means to defend their religion. It being written in the Shasters, that it is better to die for one's religion than to adopt another. This is the saying of God.

“It is manifest to all that these English are the enemies of all religions; and it should be well considered, that for a long time they have caused the preparation and distribution; by their priests, of books for the overthrow of religion in Hindoostan, and have introduced many persons for that purpose. This has been clearly ascertained from their own people. See, then, what measures they have devised for the overthrow of religion.

“1st. That women becoming widows shall be allowed to marry again. 2nd. They have abolished the ancient and sacred rite of Suttee. 3rd. They have proclaimed that all men shall adopt their religion, going to their churches to join in prayer, for which they are promised honours and dignities from the British government. They have further forbidden that no adopted children shall succeed to the titles of the rajahs of the land; while in our Shasters it is so written, that ten kinds of successors are allowed. In this manner will they eventually deprive you of all your possessions, as they have done those of Nagpoor and Oude. To destroy the religion of prisoners even, they have caused them to be fed with food prepared after their own fashion. Many have died rather than eat of this food; but many have eaten, and thus lost their religion.

“Having discovered that this did not succeed, the English caused bones to be ground and mixed with the flour and with flesh, to be secretly mixed with the rice sold in the bazaars, besides many other devices for destroying religion. These, they were told by a Bengalee, would certainly succeed with their army; and, after that, all men would believe. The English rejoiced greatly at this, not seeing in it their own destruction. They then ordered the Brahmin sepoy of their army to bite cartridges prepared with animal grease. This would have only hurt the religion of the Brahmins; but the Mussulman sepoy, hearing of it, refused to use such cartridges. The English then prepared to force all men to use them, and the men of the regiments who refused were blown away from guns.

“Seeing this tyranny and oppression, the sepoy, in defence of their lives and religion, commenced to slay the English, and killed them wherever they could find them. They are even now contemplating the extermination of the few who remain. From all this, it must be known to you, that if the English are allowed to remain in Hindoostan, they will kill every one, destroying all religions. However, certain people of this country are fighting on the side of the English, and assisting them. I ask of these—how can you preserve your religion? Is it not better that you should slay the English and be with us, by which our religions and this country will be saved? For the protection of the religions of Hindoos and Mussulmans, this is printed. Let the Hindoos swear on the Ganges, and on Toolsie Saligram, and the Mohammedans on the holy Koran, that all shall unite and destroy the English, who are the enemies of their religion.

“As it is of importance to the Hindoo religion, that the slaughter of cows should not be permitted, all the Mohammedan princes of India have made a solemn promise, that if the Hindoos will join with them in the destruction of the English, the slaying of cows shall at once be stopped, and the eating of the flesh of the cow shall, to Mohammedans, be forbidden as that of the pig. If, however, the Hindoos do not assist in destroying the English, they shall themselves be made to eat the flesh of the cow. It may be, perhaps, that the English, in order to prevail on the Hindoos to assist them, will make a

replied to a question put by the judge-advocate, that he had heard the men of his regiment converse among themselves about the chupatties which were circulated, but they did not appear to understand why they were distributed. After the first fight (at the Hindun, or Ghazee-oo-deen-nuggur), the prisoner gave out that he thought his troops (the mutineers) were disheartened, and reminded them that if the British once more set foot in Delhi, they would not leave one of the house of Timur alive. With the exception of what the witness had stated to the court, he does not remember anything occurring in the regiment indicative of a spirit of disaffection. The witness was then allowed to withdraw, and his statement was read by the interpreter, for the benefit of the prisoner and his counsel. Some documentary evidence was then produced, and the court adjourned till Wednesday, the 3rd of March, to allow the interpreter time to translate other documents necessary to the proceedings.

The following is the translation of a proclamation issued by the king of Delhi, on the 26th of August, 1857, and produced during the trial:—

"Seal of Bahadur Shah Badshah Ghazee, Mahammad Dara Bukht, Wali Niamut Khalaf, Mirza Karim Ul Sujah Bahadur.—It is well known to all, that in this age the people of Hindoostan, both Hindoos and Mohammedans, are being ruined under the tyranny and oppression of the infidel and treacherous English. It is, therefore, the bounden duty of all the wealthy people of India, especially of those who have any sort of connection with any of the Mohammedan royal families, and are considered the pastors and masters of their people, to stake their lives and property for the well-being of the public. With the view of effecting this general good, several princes belonging to the royal family of Delhi, have dispersed themselves in the different parts of India, Iran, Turan, and Afghanistan, and have been long since taking measures to compass their favourite end; and it is to accomplish this charitable object, that one of the aforesaid princes has, at the head of an army of Afghanistan, &c., made his appearance in India; and I, who am the grandson of Abel Muzuffer Sarajuddin Bahadur Shah Ghazee, king of India, having in the course of circuit come here, to extirpate the infidels residing in the eastern part of the country, and to liberate and protect the poor helpless people now groaning under their iron rule, have, by the aid of the Majahdeen or religious fanatics, erected the standard of Mohammed, and persuaded the orthodox Hindoos, who had been subject to my ancestors, and have been, and are still, accessories in the destruction of the English, to raise the standard of Mahavir.

"Several of the Hindoo and Mussulman chiefs, who have long since quitted their homes for the preservation of their religion, and have been trying their best to root out the English in India, have presented themselves to me, and taken part in the reigning Indian crusade; and it is more than probable that I shall very shortly receive succours from the west. Therefore, for the information of the public, the present Ishtahar, consisting of several sections, is put in circulation; and it is the imperative duty of all to take it into their careful consideration, and abide by it. Parties anxious to participate in the common cause, but having no means to provide for themselves, shall receive their daily subsistence from me; and be it known to all, that the ancient works, both of the Hindoos and Mohammedans, the writings of the miracle-workers, and the calculations of the astrologers, pundits, and rammals, all agree in asserting that the English will no longer have any footing in India or elsewhere. Therefore it is incumbent on all to give up the hope of the continuation of the British sway, side with me, and deserve the consideration of the Badshahi or imperial government, by their individual exertion in promoting the common good, and thus attain their respective ends; otherwise, if this golden opportunity slips away, they will have to repent of their folly: as is very aptly said by a poet in two fine couplets, the drift whereof is—'Never let a favourable opportunity slip; for, in the field of opportunity, you are to meet with the ball of fortune; but if you do not avail yourself of the opportunity that offers itself, you will have to bite your finger through grief.'

"No person, at the misrepresentation of the well-wishers of the British government, ought to conclude, from the present slight inconveniences usually attendant on revolutions, that similar inconveniences and troubles should continue when the Badshahi government is established on a firm basis; and parties badly dealt with by any sepoy or plunderer, should come up and represent their grievances to me, and receive redress at

If they, for any reasons, cannot at present declare openly against the English, they can heartily wish ill to their cause, and remain passive spectators of the passing events, without taking any active share therein. But, at the same time, they should indirectly assist the Badshahi government, and try their best to drive the English out of the country. All the sepoys and sowars who have, for the sake of their religion, joined in the destruction of the English, and are at present, on any consideration, in a state of concealment either at home or elsewhere, should present themselves to me without the least delay or hesitation. Foot soldiers will be paid at the rate of three annas, and sowars at eight or twelve annas per diem for the present, and afterwards they will be paid double of what they get in the British service. Soldiers not in the English service, and taking part in the war against the English, will receive their daily subsistence money, according to the rates specified below, for the present; and, in future, the foot soldiers will be paid at the rate of eight or ten rupees, and sowars at the rate of twenty or thirty rupees per month; and on the permanent establishment of the Badshahi government, will stand entitled to the highest posts in the state, to jagheers, and presents:—"Matchlock-men, per day, two annas; riflemen, two-and-a-half; swordsmen, one-and-a-half; horsemen, with large horses, eight; horsemen, with small horses, six—annas a-day.

"*Section 4.—Regarding Artisans.*—It is evident that the Europeans, by the introduction of the English articles into India, have thrown the weavers, the cotton dressers, the carpenters, the blacksmiths, and the shoemakers, &c., out of employ, and have engrossed their occupations, so that every description of native artisans has been reduced to beggary. But under the Badshahi government, the native artisans will exclusively be employed in the services of the kings, the rajahs, and the rich; and this will no doubt ensure their prosperity. Therefore those artisans ought to renounce the English services, and assist the Majahdeens or religious fanatics engaged in the war, and thus be entitled both to secular and eternal happiness.

"*Section 5.—Regarding Pundits, Fakirs, and other Learned Persons.*—The pundits and fakirs, being the guardians of the Hindoo and Mohammedan religions respectively, and the Europeans being the enemies of both the religions, and, as at present a war is raging against the English on account of religion, the pundits and fakirs are bound to present themselves to me, and take their share in the holy war; otherwise they will stand condemned, according to the tenor of the Shurrah and the Shasters; but if they come, they will, when the Badshahi government is well established, receive rent-free lands.

"Lastly, be it known to all, that whoever, out of the above-named classes, shall, after the circulation of this Ishtahar, still cling to the British government, all his estates shall be confiscated and property plundered, and he himself, with his whole family, shall be imprisoned, and ultimately put to death.—Interior of the Azimghur district. The 16th Mohurrum 1275 Hirji, corresponding with Bhadobady Tij 1265 Fusly."

On the 3rd of March, the court assembled for the nineteenth time, for further evidence, and again adjourned until the 9th of that month; when the vakeel of the prisoner declared, in the name of his royal master, that he did not recognise the authority of the tribunal before which he had been brought, and therefore declined to make answer to any charges brought against him. The public prosecutor then summed up the whole of the evidence adduced; by which it was proved, that, in defiance of existing treaties, the prisoner had assumed the powers of independent sovereignty, and levied war against the British government; and, moreover, that the murders of the Europeans in Delhi were perpetrated with the sanction, if not by the positive orders of the king, in the presence of his sons the princes, and other individuals connected with the royal house, and by the instrumentality of the Khassburdars of his own special body-guard. The court, after a short deliberation, adjudged the prisoner, Mirza Aboo Zuffur, alias Mahomed Suraj-oo-deen Shah Ghazee, guilty of all the charges alleged against him; whereby he became liable to the penalty of death, as a traitor and murderer: but, in consequence of the assurance given to him by Captain Hodson, previous to his capitulation on the 21st. of September, 1857, the court, by virtue of the authority vested in it by Act XIV., of 1857, sentenced him to be transported for life to the Andaman Islands, or to such other place as should be selected by the governor-general in council for his place of banishment.

by half-past 3 A.M. they were clear of the city. In camp, the principal prisoner and his two sons occupy a hill tent. A soldier's tent, with kunnant enclosure, is provided for the ladies of the zenana, and two others for the servants; the whole surrounded by a high kunnant enclosure. The prisoners are securely guarded by dismounted lancers, armed with swords and pistols, both inside and outside the enclosure; while pickets from the police battalion are thrown out beyond. The horses of the lancers—a whole troop, actually on duty over the state prisoners—are kept ready saddled; and the enclosed camp is very judiciously pitched between the lancers and Kaye's troop of horse artillery. Lieutenant Ommanney's tent is pitched just outside the enclosure. By all accounts the prisoners are cheerful; and the females may be heard talking and laughing behind their screens, as if they did not much regret their departure from Delhi."

On the 14th of October, the escort had reached Allyghur with its charge in safety; on the 16th, it arrived at Secundra Rao; and, on the 2nd of November, it entered Cawnpore, without any effort whatever, on the part of the rebels yet in arms, to disturb the progress of the march, which, after a short halt, was continued to Allahabad, where the ex-king, with his family and attendants, were transferred to a river flat, for conveyance to Calcutta.

Upon the arrival of the flat at Diamond Harbour, Calcutta, on the 4th of December, her majesty's steam-ship *Megara*, which had recently arrived from the Cape with troops, was found in readiness to receive the royal prisoner, for the purpose of conveying him to his final destination. The whole of the party who had accompanied the fallen majesty of Delhi were now embarked with him, to share his exile, and, by their sympathy, alleviate his punishment; but little feeling was manifested by any of them at the terrible calamity that had fallen upon their house. With true Moslem submission to the fate ordained for them, they even appeared cheerful; and, in the words of an officer of the escort, "were in as good spirits as if they were going on a pleasure excursion." Their actual destination still remained a state secret; but it was believed the governor of the Cape would be charged with the custody of the aged prisoner. The embarkation was conducted without the slightest display of feeling or demonstration of public curiosity: and thus the descendant of the victorious and magnificent Timur, was expatriated from the soil on which the throne of his mighty ancestors had stood, until torrents of English blood, wantonly poured out by their degenerate descendant, washed it from its foundations. A letter from Calcutta, of the 4th of December, gives the following detail of incidents connected with the final removal of the ex-king:—"On the 4th of December, at ten in the morning, the ex-king of Delhi, conveyed in the *Soorma* flat, in tow of the *Koyle* steamer, was taken on board her majesty's good ship of war, the *Megara*, which, for a vessel of the royal navy, presented a curious spectacle at the time, crowded as her main deck was with household furniture, live and lifeless stock in the shape of cattle, goats, rabbits, poultry, rice, peas, chattus innumerable, &c., &c., brought by the royal prisoner and his attendants, for their consumption and comfort. The flat was lugged alongside the gangway of the ship, so that the Delhi gentleman could step on board. Lieutenant Ommanney, of the 59th, who has had charge of him ever since he was taken, conducted him to this, probably the last, conveyance that will ever again serve him in his peregrinations. He had two wives with him, so impenetrably veiled that they were led below by guides. He looked utterly broken up, and in his dotage; but not a bad type of Eastern face and manner—something king-like about his deeply furrowed countenance, and lots of robes and Cashmeres. He was quite self-possessed, and was heard to ask some of the officers what their respective positions were on board, &c. A son and a grandson are with him: and their very first care on touching the deck with their feet, was to ask for cheroots—took things easily, in short. The ex-king, meanwhile, went below, and was said to have stretched himself forthwith upon a couch of pillows and cushions, which his folk had arranged for him in a twinkling. The whole operation of transferring him and his from the flat was quickly effected; and then the guard of the 84th regiment returned to Calcutta, while the *Megara* steamed away down the Hooghly for its destination."

The next intelligence that reached the English public, in reference to the royal prisoner, was by an announcement from Bombay, dated the 11th of January, 1859, which stated—"The ex-king of Delhi has been sent to Rangoon, in British Burmah, instead of

of the empire of his ancestors, may have suggested to the prince, Aboo Zuffur, the expediency of strengthening his hands for the possible contingency, by an alliance with a noble whose aid would, in such case, be of the first importance, through the exercise of his influence throughout the Mohammedan states of India. The Princess Zeenat, then in her sixteenth year, was therefore demanded in marriage of the rajah, her father, and was shortly afterwards conveyed, with great pomp, from the fort-palace of the Bhatneer capital to the imperial residence at Delhi. At this juncture the heir-apparent was in his sixtieth year; but the disparity of years appears to have been at all times a question of small significance when the selection of an inmate for a royal zenana was concerned; and the honour of an alliance with the imperial house of Timur was of itself sufficient to counterbalance any objection that might be supposed likely to arise on the part of the young lady or her sire, both of whom were flattered by the prospect thus opened to the ambition of the one, and the girlish aspirations of the other. In due accordance with Oriental ceremony, the youthful princess was speedily introduced to the sexagenarian ruler of her destiny, who at once expressed his admiration of her beauty and vivacity, and designated her Mahal (the Pearl), which name she has thenceforth borne. The royal nuptials were celebrated in 1833; and Zeenat Mahal, the youngest, became also the most beloved of the wives of the future king of Delhi.

A short time after the celebration of the marriage, the father of Zeenat Mahal became an inmate of the palace of the Cootub, the residence of the heir-apparent; and the influence from which so much was expected by his son-in-law, was actively but imperceptibly employed on his behalf. The emperor, Shah Akber, in 1837, was gathered to his fathers; and Mirza Aboo Zuffur, then in his sixty-fourth year, ascended the crystal throne of Delhi.

The tact and assiduities of Zeenat Mahal had by this time riveted the affection which her youth and beauty had first inspired: she had also added the claims of a mother to the attractions of a wife; and the sovereign of Hindoostan, in his old age, became the progenitor of a line of princes, of whom Jumma Bukht, the youngest (born in 1840), is now the only survivor and participator in the misfortunes of his house.

Superior to the petty intrigues and female dissensions of the zenana, the begum, Zeenat Mahal, still maintained a firm hold upon the affections of her aged husband; and, by her prudence, became at last a necessary assistant at his councils, and the confidant of his ambitious but well-concealed designs against the supremacy of the infidel government by which he was held in thrall, and whose domination was a source of undisguised hatred and impatience to all the Mohammedan races of India. With such feelings, it may be supposed, there was no lack of grievances, real or imaginary, to keep a dissatisfied spirit in restless activity within the royal precincts. Among other incentives to discontent was a difficulty that arose respecting the succession to the musnud, which, considering the advanced age of Suraj-oo-deen, became a question of importance, and eventually of much annoyance to the king and his still young and favourite wife. The royal succession had furnished a topic for discussion within the palace, and intrigue without it, from the year 1853; the king having then, as it is alleged, at the instigation of his wife, expressed his desire to name the child of his old age, Mirza Jumma Bukht, heir to the throne; while the government of the Company insisted on recognising the superior, because prior, claim of an elder son, Mirza Furruk-oo-deen. The contention to which this rivalry of interests gave birth, raged with great virulence until 1856, when the elder son suddenly died of cholera, or poison; the latter being a prevalent idea at the time. This opportune removal had not, however, the effect of settling the question, as there were still elder brothers of Jumma Bukht in existence, whose prior right to the succession was recognised by the Anglo-Indian government; while the mother of the latter still persisted in her efforts to obtain the reversion to the musnud for her own son, and declared she would not rest until her object was accomplished. When at length it was formally announced, by the resident at the court of Delhi, that his government had determined that the son of the deceased Prince Furruk-oo-deen, and grandson of the king, should inherit all that yet remained of imperial power at Delhi, as the heir in a direct line of the existing sovereign, the hostility of the begum to British influence became intense; and it thenceforward was a question among her partisans and the personal attendants of the king, whether, by overturning the English *raj*, she might not

kept in close confinement in his desecrated palace, he was put upon his trial, as before stated, and, on the nineteenth day of the proceedings, was declared guilty of the offences charged against him, and sentenced to be transported for life.

The youngest son of the prisoner, Jumma Bukht, whose boyish levity on the first day of his father's trial had excited the displeasure of the court, and deprived him of the miserable comfort of attending to his father's convenience during the remainder of the proceedings, appears to have been the only one of the princes of the royal house who was not, in a greater or less degree, implicated in the sanguinary occurrences of the rebellion. This prince, the youngest and most favoured son of the king, by Zeenat Mahal, was consequently looked upon with some degree of commiseration by the government authorities, and, for some time, was treated with indulgent consideration, as well on account of his youth as of his innocence from blame. This conduct at length awakened a sort of jealous feeling among the Europeans in Delhi; who, in their eagerness for retributive justice, fancied, in the attentions shown to the innocent son, they could discover an undue leaning towards the guilty father. At first, the youth had been allowed to accompany British officers in their evening rides, and to visit them at their quarters; but the current of indignation and hatred had set in against the house of Delhi, and it was not endured that any member of it should be exempt from the penalty which the offences of its head had brought down upon his race. Jumma Bukht, therefore, was subjected to a species of captivity within the walls of the palace enclosure; but, as no charge could be alleged or proved against him, of any complicity in the outbreak of May, or in any of the proceedings that followed, it was conceded to his earnest appeal that, on account of the king's great age and increasing infirmity, the prince should be permitted, under certain restrictions, to accompany his father into exile.

In a case of such importance as that which involved the future destiny of one who had inherited a royal name, and was yet, even in his fallen state, the acknowledged representative of an illustrious line of Eastern sovereigns, it became requisite that mature deliberation should be exercised, and that the highest authority should be afforded an opportunity to reverse or ratify the sentence passed upon the fallen occupant of a throne, by a court composed of three or four British officers. It was also necessary to determine the course to be adopted with regard to the female members of the royal establishment, whose destiny was interwoven with that of the prisoner, to whom the brightest days of their existence had been devoted, and who were now crushed by the blow that had prostrated him. The zenana of the aged king contained a number of females of rank; who, by the result of the insurrection, were now wholly dependent upon the liberality of the British government for the means of even daily subsistence. They were all without resources, and had been spoiled of their jewels and valuable ornaments by the rude grasp of unsympathising victors, or by the treachery of their servants, who had fled from them in the hour of peril. The condition of these ladies was alike pitiable and embarrassing, until the generosity of the government afforded them relief from the distress by which they were surrounded.

The ex-king was himself permitted to choose such of his wives as he preferred, to accompany him in the desolate path that lay between him and the grave; and, having made his selection, the ladies were next consulted as to their willingness to share the rigours of his exile. Of those named by the prisoner, several at once recoiled from the cheerless future to which his partiality had invited them; but Zeenat Mahal, whose girlish attachment had long settled into a calm and enduring friendship for one who, a quarter of a century previous, had placed her by his side on the throne of the Moguls, determined for one to share his fate, and to consummate, in a far-off land, the singular vicissitudes that had accompanied her existence. One other of the wives of the ex-king emulated the example and the fidelity of Zeenat Mahal; and by those only of the royal zenana was the offer of the government to accompany the prisoner accepted.

For these ladies, suitable provision had to be made. They were not criminals; and it was not by their act that the palace-home and royal state of the king of Delhi had become changed to a prison-tent and a convict's fare. To have treated them with harshness or parsimoniously in the alternative they had adopted, would, it was felt, have been unworthy of the government which had established itself upon the ruins of their state. A sufficient allowance was, therefore, promptly granted for their maintenance; and, with a delicacy

who inhabited the surrounding hills, and, in the event of a struggle, would assuredly take part with the stronger. The wilds and hilly fastnesses, which extend north and south along our frontier for 800 miles, were in the hands of some thirty or more different tribes. The political management of these rested with Colonel Nicholson and Major Edwardes, under the supervision of Sir John Lawrence.

On the 13th of May, a court-martial met at Peshawur, consisting of General Reid, Brigadier Cotton, Brigadier Neville Chamberlain, Colonel Edwardes, and Colonel Nicholson, and resolved that the troops in the hills should be concentrated in Jhelum, the central point of the Punjab. In accordance with this resolution, H.M.'s 27th foot from the hills at Nowshera, H.M.'s 24th foot from Rawul Pindee, one European troop of horse artillery from Peshawur, the Guide corps from Murdaun, 16th irregular cavalry from Rawul Pindee, the native Kumaon battalion from the same place, the 1st Punjab infantry from Bunnoo, a wing of the 2nd Punjab cavalry from Kohat, and half a company of sappers from Attock; were ordered to concentrate at Jhelum, for the purpose of forming a movable column, in readiness to quell mutiny wherever it might appear.

The danger which menaced the Punjab was fully appreciated by Sir John Lawrence; but without waiting to test the temper of the Seiks, and even while considering (as he afterwards stated) that "no man could hope, much less foresee, that they would withstand the temptation of avenging the loss of their national independence,"* he nevertheless urged on the commander-in-chief, in the earliest days of the mutiny, the paramount necessity of wresting Delhi from the hands of the rebels, at any hazard and any sacrifice, before the example of successful resistance should become known in India—before reinforcements of mutineers should flock to the imperial city, and thus teach its present craven occupants the value of the *prestige* they had so undeservedly obtained, and of the advantages they at first evinced so little capacity of using.

General Anson, on relinquishing his idea of marching immediately on Delhi, seriously

discussed the advisability of fortifying Umballah; and asked the advice of Sir John Lawrence, whose reply, given in the language of the whist table—with which the commander-in-chief was notoriously more conversant than with that of war, offensive or defensive†—was simply this: "When in doubt, win the trick. Clubs are trumps; not spades."‡ To render his advice practicable, Sir John Lawrence strained every nerve in raising corps for reinforcements, and even parted with the famous Guide corps; sending it, the Kumaon battalion, and other portions of the movable column, to join the army moving on Delhi, and recruiting his own ranks as best he could.

The Peshawur residency, although deemed unsafe for habitation, was, at this critical period, richly stored. Twenty-five lacs of rupees, or £250,000, intended as a subsidy for Dost Mohammed, had been most opportunely deposited there; for, in the financial paralysis consequent on the crisis, this money proved of the greatest service in enabling the authorities to meet the heavy commissariat expenses.§ To retain it in the residency was, however, only to offer a strong temptation to the lowest classes of the population; and it was therefore sent for safety to the strong and famous old fort of *Attock*, which commands the passage of the Indus, whose waters wash its walls. The fort was garrisoned by a wing of H.M.'s 27th foot; provisioned for a siege, and its weak points strengthened. The communication between Attock and Peshawur (a distance of forty miles) was protected by sending the 55th Native infantry, and part of the 10th irregular cavalry, from Nowshera, on the Attock road, across the Cabool river to Murdaun, a station left vacant by the departure of the Guides. The men suspected that they had been sent there because their loyalty was distrusted; and taunted their colonel, Spottiswoode, with having brought them to a prison. The colonel, who firmly believed in the integrity of his regiment, assured them to the contrary, and promised to forward to head-quarters any petition they might draw up. They accordingly framed one; and the most prominent grievance of which they complained, was the breaking up in practice, though not in name, of the invalid establishment.||

* Letter from Sir J. Lawrence to Mr. Raikes. — *Revolt in the N. W. Provinces*, p. 75.

† General Anson is said to have been the author of a well-known Hand-book on Whist, by "Major A."

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‡ Cooper's *Crisis in the Punjab*, p. 45.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

|| See Introductory Chapter to narrative of Mutiny, p. 111.

from Kurnaul at nine in the evening, with one led horse and an escort of Seik cavalry; arrived at Meerut about daybreak; delivered the commander-in-chief's despatches to General Wilson; had a bath, breakfast, and two hours' sleep, and then rode back the seventy-six miles, thirty miles of the distance lying through a hostile country."*

General van Cortlandt is another commander of irregular troops, whose name will

frequently appear in the course of the narrative. He was serving the British government in a civil capacity at the time of the outbreak, but was then called on to levy recruits. The nucleus of his force consisted of 300 Dogras (short built, sturdy men), belonging to Rajah Jowahir Sing, of Lahore. This number he increased to 1,000; and the Dogras did good service under their veteran leader.

CHAPTER VIII.

MARCH OF BRITISH FORCES, AND SIEGE OF DELHI.—MAY 27TH TO JUNE 24TH, 1857.

ADVANCE ON DELHI.—The terrible turning-point passed, and the fact proved that, in the hands of Sir John Lawrence and his lieutenants, the Punjab was not a source of danger, but a mine of strength, affairs at head-quarters assumed a new aspect; and the arrival of the Seik reinforcements was of invaluable assistance to the small band of Europeans on whom alone reliance could previously be placed, it having been found necessary to disarm the 5th Native Infantry at Umballah on the morning of May 29th, the day before General Barnard, with the staff of the army, started from Kurnaul for Delhi. The 60th Native Infantry were detached to Rohtuck, it being considered too great a trial of fidelity to employ this Hindoostanee corps in besieging their countrymen and co-religionists.

Encounter at the Hindun.—The small detachment of troops from Meerut, under Brigadier Wilson, marched thence on the 27th of May, to join the main body, and, on the morning of the 30th, encamped at Ghazi-u-deen Nuggur, a small but strongly fortified position on the river Hindun, about ten miles from Delhi. The troops were weary with night marches, and enfeebled by the intensity of the hot winds. No one entertained any suspicion of the vicinity of the enemy. At about four o'clock in the afternoon, when officers and men were for the most part asleep, a picket of

irregulars, stationed beyond the suspension-bridge, gave the alarm of an approaching foe. The bugles sounded, and the Rifles had scarcely formed before an 18-pounder shot burst into the British camp, and took one leg from each of two native palkee-bearers, who were sitting at the tent door of the Carabineers' hospital. The attacking force consisted of a strong detachment of mutineers from Delhi, who had succeeded in bringing their heavy guns to bear on the British camp before even their vicinity was suspected. Two 18-pounders were speedily opened to meet the hostile fire; the Rifles crossed the bridge, and were soon actively engaged in front; while the horse artillery, under Lieutenant-colonel Mackenzie, turned the left flank of the enemy, who thereupon commenced a retreat, leaving behind them five guns (two of large calibre),† and carts full of intrenching tools and sand-bags. The long delay of the British had evidently given time to the rebels to plan; but not to execute, the occupation of a fortified position on the Hindun. The numbers engaged are but vaguely stated. The chaplain who accompanied the expedition, speaks of 700 Englishmen attacking a force seven times their number.‡ The loss on the British side, in killed and wounded, did not exceed forty-four men; and was chiefly occasioned by the explosion of a cart-full of ammunition near the toll-bar, which a havildar of the 11th (a Meerut mutineer) fired into when the rout began. He was instantly bayoneted. Captain Andrews, of the Rifles, was killed

* *Twelve Years of a Soldier's Life in India*, p. 7.

† Greathed's *Letters*, p. 6.

‡ The Chaplain's *Narrative*, p. 26.

put on guard over and in the bank, in which lay some 80,000 Company's rupees. "The critical state of affairs," Mr. Cooper states, "may be judged not only from the audacity of their demands, but the undisguised audacity of their bearing. They demanded to be shown the actual treasure; and their swarthy features lit up with glee unpleasant to the eye of the bystander, when they saw the shining pieces. One sepoy tossed back the flap of the coat of a gentleman present, and made a queer remark on the revolver he saw worn underneath."* At Kussowlie, just above Umballah, a party of Goorkas actually robbed the treasury, and the rest broke into open bloodshed. Captain Blackall was about to order a party of H.M.'s 75th to act against the Goorkas; when Mr. Taylor, the assistant-commissioner, represented to him, that the safety of the helpless community of Simla depended on the avoidance of an outbreak. Captain Blackall acknowledged the force of the argument, and contented himself with adopting purely defensive measures, although actually surrounded by the Goorkas, and taunted with such expressions as "Shot for shot!" "Life for life!" In fact, the wise counsel of Mr. Taylor, and the address and temper evinced by Captain Blackall, proved the means of preserving Simla from being the scene of "horrors, in which, in enormities, perhaps Cawnpore would have been outdone."† The wisdom of the conciliation policy practised at Kussowlie, was not at first appreciated at Simla; and the replacement of the government treasury under the charge of the Goorkas, was viewed, naturally enough, as a perilous confession of weakness. "The panic reached its climax, and general and precipitate flight commenced. Officers, in high employ, rushed into ladies' houses, shouting, 'Fly for your lives! the Goorkas are upon us!' Simla was in a state of consternation: shoals of half-crazed fugitives, timid ladies, hopeless invalids, sickly children hardly able to totter—whole families burst forth, and poured helter-skelter down on Dughai and Kussowlie. Some ran down steep khuds [ravines] and places marked only by the footprints of the mountain herds, and remained all night. Never had those stately pines looked down upon, or those sullen glens and mossy retreats

echoed with, such a tumult and hubbub. Ladies, who are now placidly pursuing ordinary domestic duties, wrote off perhaps for the last time to their distracted husbands in the plains: then, snatching up their little ones, fled away, anywhere out of the Simla world. Extraordinary feats were performed; some walked thirty miles! Some, alas! died from the effects of exhaustion and fear." The Mohammedan servants exulted in the belief that the European raj was about to close; and among the many anecdotes current during the panic, was one of a little boy being jeeringly told that his mamma would soon be grinding gram for the King of Delhi!‡

The news reached the commander-in-chief (Anson) at the time when the scales had just fallen from his eyes, and when the massacres of Meerut and Delhi, and the remonstrances of Sir John Lawrence and Colvin, had convinced him of the miserable error of his past proceedings. The plan of coercing and disbanding regiments had worse than failed with the Poorbeahs: it was not likely to succeed with the Goorkas. The Jutog troops were on the point, if not in the act, of mutiny; and, if not arrested, their example of defection or rebellion might be followed by the Kumaon and Sirmoor battalions, and the 66th (Napier's corps);§ and thus the resources of government would be lessened, and its difficulties greatly increased. In this strait, General Anson selected Captain Briggs, superintendent of roads, who possessed an intimate knowledge of the habits, customs, and feelings of the Goorkas, and desired him to hold communication with them, and secure their adherence even at the price of wholesale condonation of mutiny. This was actually done. A free pardon was given to the regiment generally, the only exception being a subahdar, named Chunderbun, described by Major Bagot as one of the best soldiers in the corps, and who had been absent at the time of the mutiny, but who had irretrievably offended his comrades by stating that they had no objection to use the new cartridges. Two men, "dismissed by order of court-martial" for taunting the school of musketry, "were restored to the service." These extraordinary concessions proved as successful as the opposite policy (commenced by the disbandment of the unfortunate 19th N.I.) had been disastrous. The advance on Delhi during the intense heat was as trying to the Goorkas as to the

* Cooper's *Crisis in the Punjab*, p. 103.

† *Ibid.*, p. 104.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

§ See page 107, ante.

evils of delay." Any advantage gained thereby was, as ought to have been foreseen, more than counterbalanced by the rapid growth of the enemy's resources.*

Before a siege-train could be procured, a marked change had taken place in the attitude of the mutineers. The name of Delhi in revolt offered to discontented adventurers throughout India, and especially to Mohammedans, an almost irresistible attraction; and while the British raised regiments of doubtful or dangerous character with toil, by dint of the most unremitting energy, and at an enormous cost, thousands flocked in at the open gates of the city, and seized the weapons and manned the guns left ready to their hand.

The long waited for siege-train, when it arrived, proved quite insufficient for the work required. "No one," as Mr. Greathed naïvely remarks, "seems to have thought that the guns at the disposal of the mutineers are 24-pounders, and that the 18-pounders we brought with us were not likely to silence them; and it is for this reason our approach to the town is rendered so difficult. There was certainly an entire miscalculation of the power of resistance afforded to the rebels by their command of the Delhi arsenal."†

In fact, the British troops, instead of the besiegers, became literally the besieged, and were thankful for the shelter offered by the ridge on which the advanced pickets stood, and which enabled them to say—"Here we are in camp, as secure against assaults as if we were in Delhi, and the mutineers outside."‡ Even this was not always the case; for at sunrise on the morning of the 12th of June, the most advanced picket, that at the Flagstaff tower, was fiercely attacked, and nearly carried by surprise, by a large body of mutineers who had contrived to approach unobserved under cover of night, and conceal themselves in the ravines in the compound or grounds attached to Sir T. Metcalfe's late house, situated between the Flagstaff tower and the river. The picket was hard pressed; the two artillery guns were nearly taken; Captain Knox, and several of the 75th foot, were killed: the enemy even descended the camp side of the ridge; and three of the rebels were killed in the sepoy lines, within a short distance of the tents, before rein-

forcements could be brought up to support the disputed position, and drive off the insurgents. To prevent the recurrence of a similar danger, a large picket was sent to occupy Metcalfe's house—a precaution which would have been taken earlier but for the difficulty of providing relief, and which threw up, as it were, a left flank to the British defences, and rendered it almost impossible for the enemy to pass round to attack the camp on that side. The attempt upon the Flagstaff tower had hardly been repulsed, when other bodies of insurgents advanced against Hindoo Rao's house, and through the Subzee Munde, into the gardens on the right flank of the camp. The first of these movements was inconsiderable; but supports of all arms had to be moved up to oppose the second. Major Jacob led the 1st Fusiliers against the rebels, and drove them out of the gardens with much slaughter.§

The manifest insufficiency of the British force to besiege, much less blockade, Delhi, led certain of the officers to desire to attempt its capture by a *coup-de-main*; and Sir Henry Barnard directed three engineer officers (Wilberforce Greathed, Chesney, and Maunsell), assisted by Hodson, to form a project of attack, of which, when laid before the general, he highly approved.|| Two gates of the city were to be blown in by powder-bags, by which means two columns of the attacking force (comprising some 1,700 or 1,800 infantry) were to effect an entrance. Early on the morning of the 13th of June, corps were formed in readiness; and the Rifles had actually got within 400 or 500 yards of the city wall, unperceived by the enemy, when they were recalled in consequence of "the mistake of a superior officer in delaying the withdrawal of the pickets, without which the infantry regiments were mere skeletons." The abandonment of the plan became inevitable, as daylight was fast approaching, and it was felt that success could not be anticipated except as the result of surprise. Major Norman pronounced the accident which hindered the attempt, an interposition of Providence on behalf of the British; and considers that defeat, or even partial success, would have been ruin; while complete success would not have achieved the results subsequently obtained.¶ Considerable difference of opinion, however, prevailed on the subject.

* Hodson's *Twelve Years in India*, p. 198.

† Greathed's *Letters*, p. 18.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 11.

¶ *Ibid.*

§ Norman's *Conquest of the Delhi Army*, p. 22.
|| Hodson's *Twelve Years in India*, p. 200.
¶ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

this evidence of distrust, but happily in vain. In the 8th irregular cavalry, however, such perfect reliance continued to be placed, that their commandant, Captain Mackenzie, was empowered to raise additional troops for permanent service; and the cavalry lines were appointed as the place of rendezvous in the event of an outbreak.

Nor was this confidence without foundation. The corps, it is true, succumbed; but it is evident the men had no systematic treachery in view, but were simply carried away by what to them must have been an irresistible impulse. At Bareilly there yet remained a lineal descendant of the brave but ill-fated Hafiz Rehmet, the Rohilla chief who fell when British bayonets were hired out by Warren Hastings, to enable Shujah Dowlah, of Oude, to "annex" a neighbouring country. Khan Bahadoor Khan was a venerable-looking man, of dignified manners, and considerable ability—much respected by both Europeans and natives. Being a pensioner of government in his double capacity as representative of the former ruler of the country, and also as a retired Principal Sudder Ameen (or native judge), the old man was considered, by the commissioner and collector, as identified with British interests; and he was daily closeted with them as a counsellor in their anxious discussions regarding the state of affairs.* From subsequent events, he is believed to have been instrumental in fomenting disaffection, rather than to have been carried away by the torrent; but no very conclusive evidence has yet appeared on the subject. On the 29th of May, some of the Native officers reported to Colonel Troup, the second in command, that whilst bathing in the river, the men of the 18th and 68th N.I. had sworn to rise in the middle of the day and massacre the Europeans. Notice was immediately given to Captain Mackenzie; under whom the irregular cavalry turned out with the utmost promptitude, and appeared quite resolved to stand by the Europeans.†

No outbreak occurred during this or the following day; but great numbers of the 45th mutineers, from Ferozpoor, passed through Bareilly on both these days, and spread alarm among the yet obedient troops,

by assuring them that a large European force, with artillery, had been concentrated in the vicinity of the station, and that the destruction of the whole of the Native regiments had been resolved on by the "*gora logue*" (white people). The Native lines were a scene of confusion throughout the night of Saturday the 30th; few of the men retired to their own huts; and the Europeans were in a state of extreme anxiety, having received warning of the determination at which the irregular cavalry had arrived—of remaining strictly neutral in the approaching struggle, and neither raising their hands against their countrymen nor the Europeans. The confidence of some of the officers in their men was unbroken to the last. For instance, at nine o'clock on the Sunday morning, Major Pearson, who was in command of the 18th, called on Colonel Troup, and assured him that his men were all right. Two hours later a gun was fired by the artillery, and immediately afterwards the sepoys began firing on the officers' bungalows. Brigadier Sibbald mounted his horse, and rode towards the cavalry lines, but was met by a party of infantry, who shot him in the chest: the brave old soldier rode on till he reached the appointed rendezvous, and then dropped dead from his horse. Ensign Tucker perished while endeavouring to save the life of the sergeant-major. The chief part of the Europeans, civil and military, reached the cavalry lines in safety, and agreed to retire on Nynce Tal. The troopers were assembled in readiness to join in the retreat, when Captain Mackenzie came up, and asked Colonel Troup's permission to comply with the wishes of the men, who desired "to have a crack at the mutineers." They returned accordingly, and soon came in sight of the rebels. The result may be readily guessed. The sight of the green flag—the symbol of their faith—sufficed to turn the scale with the troopers; and when directed to charge upon their co-religionists, they halted, began to murmur, and ended by turning their horses' heads, and ranging themselves around the same banner. The officers (Captain Mackenzie and Lieutenant Becher), with a faithful remnant of their late regiment,‡ were compelled to rejoin the party proceeding to

three motherless boys, who were left in the lines of the mutineers. The old man grasped the hand of his commander, and, looking up to heaven with tears in his eyes, exclaimed, "No, I will go on with you,

* *Mutiny of the Bengal Army*, p. 198.

† Col. Troup's report.—Further Parl. Papers, p. 138.

‡ Mohammed Nizam, a Native officer, was told by Captain Mackenzie to go back and look after his

CHAPTER X.

OUDE, LUCKNOW, SEETAPOOR, MOHUMDEE, MULLAON, BAHRAETCH, GONDAH,
MULLAPOOR, FYZABAD, SALONE, AND DURIABAD.—MAY 16TH TO JULY 4TH, 1857.

OUDE.—The efforts of Sir Henry Lawrence were successful in preserving the tranquillity of Oude up to the end of May. In the meantime, he had taken precautions in anticipation of a calamity which he considered nothing short of the speedy recapture of Delhi could avert. On the 16th of May, he requested the Supreme government, by telegraph, to entrust him with plenary military power in Oude; which was immediately granted.* He was appointed brigadier-general, and he lost not a moment in entirely changing the disposition of the troops. Arrangements for Lucknow, he considered, might be satisfactorily made; but the unprotected condition of Allahabad, Benares, and especially of Cawnpoor, filled him with alarm; and he wrote urgently to the governor-general, entreating that no expense might be spared in sending Europeans to reinforce that place. At midnight on the 20th, an application for aid was dispatched from thence to Lucknow (fifty miles distant), and was answered by the immediate dispatch of fifty men of H.M.'s 32nd, and two squadrons of Native cavalry. The cavalry were not needed at Cawnpoor; and Captain Fletcher Hayes projected, and obtained leave to attempt, the expedition against the Etah rajah, the melancholy result of which has been already related.

Lucknow itself needed every precaution which Sir Henry Lawrence had the means of taking. It extended along the right bank of the Goomtee for four miles, and its buildings covered an area of seven miles. It contained, according to Mr. Raikes, 200,000 fighting-men, and as many more armed citizens. Sleeman estimated the total population at 1,000,000 persons;† others have placed it at 1,200,000: but no census had been attempted either by the Native or European government. The rising of the Lucknow people was anticipated by the resident Europeans as a very probable event, for the plain reason that, in the words of one of the annalists of the siege, "we

had done very little to merit their love, and much to merit their detestation;" and "the people in general, and especially the poor, were dissatisfied, because they were taxed directly and indirectly in every way."‡ The mutiny of the Native troops was still more confidently expected; and Sir Henry Lawrence was urged to prevent it by disarming them: but he considered that this measure, though practicable and even desirable had the capital only required to be cared for, might precipitate an outbreak at Cawnpoor and at the out-stations of Oude, and therefore ought not to be adopted except in the last extremity. In the distribution of the forces, the chief object had been to station the Europeans where they would suffer least from exposure to the climate; and the natives had been entrusted with the sole charge of several important positions. It became necessary to make a new arrangement, and likewise to reduce the number of stations, that, in the event of an outbreak, the Europeans might not be cut off in detail. "We had eight posts," writes Sir H. Lawrence to Sir Hugh Wheeler, on the 20th of May: "as Sir C. Napier would say, we were like chips in porridge. We have given up four posts, and greatly strengthened three."§

Of these three, the *Muchee Bhawn* was the one which was at the onset most relied on. This fort, which derives its name of Muchee (fish)|| from the device over the gateway, and Bhawn (Sanskrit for house), had the appearance of a formidable and secure stronghold, and was held by the natives to be almost impregnable. It occupied a commanding position with regard to the town; and advantage was taken of this by planting cannon on its walls; or where that could not be done, supplying the deficiency with "jingals," or immense blunderbusses moving on pivots. All the magazine stores, previously under the charge of sepoy, were removed into the Muchee Bhawn, and a company of Europeans placed on guard there; supplies of wheat, and all sorts of

* Appendix to Parl. Papers on Mutiny, p. 187.

† Raikes' *Revolt*, p. 104. Sleeman's *Oude*, vol. i., p. 136.

‡ Rees' *Siege of Lucknow*, p. 34.

§ Appendix to Parl. Papers on Mutiny, p. 311.

|| The order of the Fish was the highest and most coveted distinction in the Mogul empire.

discharges, they broke up and fled precipitately. The guns followed slowly with the infantry: the troopers might have overtaken the fugitive crowds; but they had evidently no desire to do so, notwithstanding the promise of 100 rupees for every mutineer captured or slain; and, after proceeding a few miles further, the pursuit was abandoned. Thirty prisoners were taken. The Europeans were at first surprised by seeing numbers of men and women running in all directions, with bundles on their heads; but they soon discovered that these were villagers and camp-followers making off with booty obtained in the cantonments during the preceding night. Some of the plunderers were seized by Commissioner Gubbins, who, with his own orderly and three of Fisher's horse, got detached from the rest of the cavalry; but what to do with his prisoners the commissioner knew not; for, he adds, "we had not yet learnt to kill in cold blood." Neither had the sepoys learned to expect it: they would have been more daring had they been more desperate. Gubbins and his four native followers came suddenly on six of the fugitives, and captured them in the following singular manner. "Coming up with them, they threw down their loaded muskets and drew their swords, of which several had two. Threatening them with our fire-arms, we called upon them to throw down their arms, which presently they did. One of them declared himself to be a havildar; and I made him pinion tightly his five comrades, using their turbans and waistbands for the purpose. One of the troopers then dismounted and tied the havildar's arms. Three of the men belonged to the 48th N.I., three to the 13th N.I., and one man was a Seik. One of the prisoners wore three English shirts over his native dress. The arms were collected and laden on a couple of peasants summoned from the village, and the six prisoners were sent back in charge of a single horseman." Mr. Gubbins rode on, and, in his own words, "gave chase" to two or three more fugitives, and had nearly overtaken them, when his orderly perceived a number of sepoy heads behind a low wall, at the entrance of a village they were about to enter. This changed the aspect of affairs; and, amid a shower of bullets, the commissioner turned his horse's head, and, with his three followers, rode back with all speed to the Residency bungalow in cantonments, where he arrived about eleven

o'clock, Sir Henry Lawrence and the artillery having returned an hour before.

The trooper entrusted with the prisoners brought them duly in, and he and his three companions received the promised reward of 600 rupees. While waiting for their money in the house of Mr. Gubbins, they talked with the servants on the state of affairs. The three who belonged to Fisher's horse, said, "We like our colonel [Fisher], and will not allow him to be harmed; but if the whole army turns, we must turn too!" The events of a few days showed the significance of these words: the authority of the "Fauj ki Bheera," or general will of the army, was to individuals, and even to regiments, almost irresistible.*

In the afternoon of the 31st, an insurrection took place in a quarter of the city called Hoseynabad, near the Dowlutkhana. An Indian "budmash" is little less turbulent than an Italian "bravo;" and the class may well be supposed to have abounded in a city where every man engaged in the ordinary business of life, wore his tulwar, or short bent sword, and the poorest idler in the streets swaggered along with his shield of buffalo-hide and his matchlock or pistols. It appeared that the city budmashes, to the number of 6,000 men, had crossed the river in the morning with the intention of joining the mutineers in the cantonments; but their plans had been disconcerted by the promptitude with which Sir Henry Lawrence had pursued and dispersed their intended allies. Finding the mutineers gone, the budmashes returned to the city, and commenced a disturbance, but were put down by the efforts of the police assisted by a few faithful companies of irregular infantry. Many of the insurgents were killed, and several prisoners taken and, together with those previously captured, were lodged in the Muchee Bhawn to the number of forty. A court-martial was assembled for their trial, and the majority were executed by hanging, including the six sepoys seized by Commissioner Gubbins, the traitor who betrayed Lieutenant Grant's hiding-place, and the subahdar, who had a month before been raised to that rank, and presented with dress of honour and a thousand rupees, as a reward for his fidelity. The sentence passed by the court were not, however, all confirmed by Sir Henry Lawrence, for "he inclined much to clemency."† The

* Gubbins' *Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 111. † *Ibid.*, p. 111.

heard of the vicinity of Sir M. Jackson and his companions; and Captain Orr and his wife appear to have joined them, and, with them, to have fallen into the hands of the mutineers, who detained them in protracted captivity, the issue of which belongs to a later period of the narrative.

At *Mullaon*, a party of the 41st N.I., and the 4th Oude irregular infantry, became so turbulent, that the deputy-commissioner (Mr. Capper), perceiving mutiny impending, rode away, and reached Lucknow in safety.

At *Secrora*—a military station in the Bahraetch division of Oude, of which Mr. Wingfield was commissioner—a mutiny broke out, and the treasury was rifled; but all the Europeans escaped safely to Lucknow, from whence a strong party of volunteer and Seik cavalry, with elephants and dhoolies, were sent to bring in the ladies and children, which was safely accomplished on the 9th of June.

At *Gondah*, where the milder course of mutiny and plunder without massacre was adopted, the commandant (Captain Miles), and other officers of the 3rd Oude irregulars stationed there, were obliged to fly, and were, with Mr. Wingfield, protected for several days by the rajah of Bulrampoor, and then escorted by his troops across the Oude frontier into the Goruckpoor district, where they were kindly received by the rajah of Bansie, and enabled to reach Goruckpoor.

At *Bahraetch* itself, two civil servants were stationed—Mr. Cunliffe, deputy-commissioner, and his assistant, Mr. Jordan, with two companies of the 3rd irregular infantry, under Lieutenant Longueville Clarke. When mutiny appeared, the three Europeans rode off to Nanpara, intending to rest there, and proceed thence to the hills; but, on reaching that place, they were refused admittance. The reason given was connected with the *be-duk-ilee*, or dispossession grievance, which had produced so much disaffection throughout Oude. According to the British view of the question as stated by Mr. Gubbins, the rajah of Nanpara, being a minor, had fallen under the tutelage of a kinsman who had mismanaged the estate and dissipated the property. He had accordingly been removed by the authorities, and a new agent appointed; but when the insurrection commenced, the old administrator killed the government nominee, and resumed his former position. No injury was done to the fugitives at Nanpara. They retraced their steps to Bahraetch,

and disguising themselves as natives, strove to reach Lucknow, where Mr. Cunliffe expected to meet his affianced bride. Unfortunately they rode to the chief ferry, that of Byram Ghaut, which was guarded by the Secrora mutineers, by whom the disguised Europeans were discovered and put to death. Such, at least, was the statement made by several native witnesses, and which, Mr. Gubbins affirms, was believed at Lucknow by all except the betrothed girl, who hoped against hope, throughout the weary siege, that her lover yet survived. She might well do so; for during that terrible time, many persons were asserted to be dead, and details of the most revolting description related regarding their sufferings, who afterwards were discovered to be alive and wholly uninjured, save by fear, fatigue, and exposure to the weather.

Mr. Rees, who was connected by marriage with poor Clarke, mentions three different statements of the fate of the Bahraetch fugitives. One was, that they were “tried by the rebels for the murder of Fuzil Ali, and shot.” A military author, who is a very graphic describer, but who gives few and scanty references to his sources of information, narrates the catastrophe with much precision. Lieutenant Clarke had been especially active in the apprehension of Fuzil Ali, a rebel chief and notorious outlaw, well-known in the annals of Oude. The irregular infantry had assisted in the capture of the bandit, who was tried and executed for the murder of a Bengal civilian: but when they mutinied, they sent word to the 17th N.I. (which regiment was in their immediate vicinity), to know what should be done with the murderer of the chieftain? “Behead him,” was the reply; and the unfortunate officer, and another European with him, were immediately executed.*

Mr. Rees states, that the sword and pistols of Lieutenant Clarke were taken to his father, a well-known barrister of the same name, at Calcutta, by an old native dependent, who transmitted them in obedience to the order of his late master.

At *Mullapoor*, the last station of the Bahraetch division, there were no troops to mutiny; but the complete disorganisation of the district, compelled the officers there, Mr. Gonne, of the civil service, and Captain Hastings, to leave the place, and take

* *Mutiny of Bengal Army*; by one who served under Sir Charles Napier; p. 82.

suffering under "a dozen different complaints," and sent to Oude. Unhappily, the opportunity for pacification there, had been worse than lost. The landed proprietary had been driven, by our revenue and judicial system, into union on the single point of hostility towards the British. Among the talookdars, there were many chiefs entirely opposed in character to Maun Sing; but few had suffered such spoliation as he had, inasmuch as few had so much to lose. The dealings of government with him have never been succinctly stated. Mr. Russell (whose authorities in India are, from the quite peculiar position in which his talents and honesty have placed him, of the very highest class) asserts that, in 1856, Maun Sing was chased out of his estates by a regiment of cavalry, for non-payment of head-rent, or assessment to government. When he fled, many original proprietors came forward to claim portions of his estates (comprising, in all, 761 villages), and received them from the British administrators.* From a passage in a despatch written by Commissioner Wingfield, it appears that Maun Sing was absolutely in distress for money, and unable to borrow any, having "lost every village at the summary settlement."†

A man so situated was not unlikely to turn rebel. The Supreme government and the Lucknow authorities received intelligence which they deemed conclusive; and in accordance with a telegram from Calcutta, Maun Sing was arrested at Fyzabad in May, and remained in confinement till the beginning of June, when he sent for Colonel Goldney, warned him that the troops would rise, and offered, if released, to give the Europeans shelter at Shahgunje. Colonel Goldney appears to have rightly appreciated the motives of his interlocutor, which were simply a desire to be on the stronger side—that of the British; to obtain from them the best possible terms; and, at the same time, not to render himself unnecessarily obnoxious to his countrymen. Maun Sing was neither the fiery Rajpoot of Rajast'han (so well and so truly portrayed by Todd), nor the mild Hindoo of Bengal; nor, happily for us, was he a vengeful Mahratta like Nana Sahib: he was a shrewd, wary man, "wise in his generation," and made

himself "master of the situation," in a very wriggling, serpent-like fashion. He had no particular temptation to join either party. The ancient barons of Oude detested him and his family, as adventurers and *parvenus* of the most unprincipled description, who had grown wealthy on their spoils; and Maun Sing, in accordance with the proverb, that "the injurer never forgives," probably entertained a deeper aversion and distrust towards them than towards the English, by whom he had himself been despoiled. The event justified the policy adopted by Colonel Goldney in releasing the chief, with permission to strengthen his fort (which was greatly out of repair), and raise levies: but these measures he had little time to adopt; for before many days had elapsed, the expected mutiny took place, and was conducted in a manner which proved that, in the present instance, the sepoys were acting on a settled plan. On the morning of the 8th of June, intelligence was received that a rebel force (the 17th N.I., with a body of irregular cavalry and two guns from Azimghur) were encamped at Begum Gunje, ten miles from Fyzabad, and intended marching into the station on the following morning. The Europeans now prepared for the worst. The civilians and the non-commissioned officers sent their families to Shahgunje; to which place, Captain J. Reid, Captain Alexander Orr, and Mr. Bradford, followed them. Colonel Goldney, though also filling a civil appointment, remained behind. He had every confidence in the 22nd N.I., which he had formerly commanded; and he maintained a most gallant bearing to the moment of his death. Mrs. Lennox and her daughter (Mrs. Morgan), with the wife and children of Major Mill, remained in cantonments, in reliance on the solemn oath of the Native officers of the 22nd, that no injury should be done them. The European officers went to their respective posts; but soon found themselves prisoners, not being allowed to move twelve paces without being followed by a guard with fixed bayonets.

A risaldar of cavalry took command of the mutineers, and proceeded to release a moolvee, who had been confined in the quarter-guard, and in whose honour they fired a salute. This man was a Mohammedan of good family, who had traversed a considerable part of Upper India, preaching sedition. He had been expelled from Agra

* *Times*, 17th January, 1859.

† Despatch to secretary to government, dated July 14th, 1857.—Parl. Papers on Mutinies (regarding Maun Sing), March 18th, 1858; p. 3.

took leave of "the considerate and noble nazim." They reached Goruckpoor in safety; and, on their way, met Sergeant Busher, who had been also saved by Meer Mehndee's adherents.

The nazim afterwards visited the mutineers at Fyzabad, to learn their plan, which was to march to the attack of Lucknow, and then proceed to Delhi. They enquired very minutely concerning certain Europeans he had harboured. The nazim declared he had only fed and rested three Europeans, and then sent them on. To this the mutineers replied—"It is well; we are glad you took care of the colonel and his family."

Colonel Lennox concludes his narrative by earnestly recommending the nazim and his nephew to the favour of the British government. He had refrained from any description of his own sufferings, or those of his companions; but he evidently could not acknowledge the gratitude due to a fellow-creature, without making reverent mention of the merciful Providence which had supported, and eventually carried him through, perils under which the majority of his fellow-officers had sunk, though they were mostly young, strong, and unencumbered by the care of weak and defenceless women. His party escaped without a hair of their heads being injured. There is something very impressive in the quiet dignity with which Colonel Lennox declares—"Throughout this severe trial, I have found the promise fulfilled to me and to my family, 'And as thy day, so shall thy strength be.'"*

The last Europeans left at Fyzabad, were the wife and children of Major Mill. For some unexplained cause, Mrs. Mill had neither accompanied the civilians to Shahgunje, nor her husband to the boats. She is alleged to have lost the opportunity of leaving the station with Colonel Lennox, from unwillingness to expose her three young children to the sun; but she subsequently made her way alone with them, wandering about for a fortnight, from village to village, till she reached Goruckpoor, where one of her little ones died of fatigue; and where, after passing through an agony of doubt, she learned at length the certainty of her widowhood.†

Sultanpoor.—This station was under the

* Further Parl. Papers (No. 4), p. 47.

† Gubbins' *Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 136.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

command of Colonel Fisher, an officer whose genial nature and keen enjoyment of field sports, had rendered him popular alike with Europeans and Natives. His own regiment (the 15th irregular horse) was posted at Sultanpoor, together with the 8th Oude infantry, under Captain W. Smith, and the 1st regiment of military police, under Captain Bunbury. Individual popularity could not, however, counteract general disaffection; and, even to its possessor, it brought dangers as well as advantages; for while the sepoys of each regiment were solicitous for, and did actually preserve, the lives of many favourite officers at the risk of their own, the worst disposed of other corps were specially anxious to remove such commanders as might influence the more moderate to repentance, and, at the same time, to compromise the entire Bengal army by implication in the commission of crimes which the majority had in all probability never contemplated. Colonel Fisher was not taken by surprise. He anticipated the coming outbreak, and sent off the ladies and children, on the night of the 7th of June, towards Allahabad, under care of Dr. Corbyn and Lieutenant Jenkyns. Three of the ladies (Mrs. Goldney, Mrs. Block, and Mrs. Stroyan) became separated from the rest, and were taken to the neighbouring fort of Amethie, where they were protected by Rajah Bainie Madhoo Sing; by whom, the Oude commissioner states, "they were very kindly treated. Madhoo," he adds, "sent us in their letters to Lucknow; furnished them with such comforts as he could procure himself; took charge of the articles which we wished to send; and, after sheltering the ladies for some days, forwarded them in safety to Allahabad. The rest of the party, joined by Lieutenant Grant, assistant-commissioner, found refuge for some days with a neighbouring zemindar, and were by him escorted in safety to Allahabad."‡ This testimony is very strongly in favour of a rajah, whose fort, after being the sanctuary of Englishwomen in their deepest need, was soon to be besieged by the British commander-in-chief in person, and its master driven into exile and outlawry. The cause of this change is alleged to have been one which those who have watched the working of the centralisation system in India, will find little difficulty in understanding. It is not only that the left hand does not know what the right hand is doing, but that the head,

answered, uttered as it was by the lips of one whose character for Christian excellence stood unequalled among public men in India. At least, the retreat of the exhausted force from the Kookrail bridge to Lucknow, under all the circumstances of the case, is one of the most marvellous incidents in the insurrection. On approaching the suburbs, the natives, men, women, and children, rich and poor, crowded round the weary and wounded fugitives, bringing water in cool porous vessels, which was thankfully accepted, and greedily swallowed.

The news of the disaster had reached the city as early as 9 A.M.; a number of the recreant Sikh cavalry, and artillery drivers, having crossed the iron bridge at that hour, their horses covered with foam, and they themselves terrified, but not one of them wounded. The commissioner asked them reproachfully why they had fled. They replied only, that the enemy had surrounded them. Half-an-hour later, a messenger who had been sent to gain information, returned to Lucknow, bearing Sir Henry Lawrence's sword scabbard, and a message that he was unhurt. Shortly after the troops arrived; and then, as the wounded men lay faint and bleeding in the porch of the Residency, the horrors of the war burst at once on the view of the British at Lucknow. The banqueting-hall was converted into an hospital; and instead of music and merriment, the wail of the widow, shrieks wrung from brave strong men by exerting physical suffering, and the dull death-rattle, were heard on every side. The total loss, on the side of the British, consisted of—Europeans, 112 killed, and 44 wounded; Natives—nearly 200 killed and missing: only eleven wounded returned to the city. Besides the howitzer, we lost three field-pieces, with almost all the ammunition wagons of our native guns. No estimate could be formed of the loss of the enemy; but the total number engaged was calculated at 5,550 infantry, 800 cavalry, and 160 artillery.† These were the regiments which had mutilated at Fyzabad, Seetapore, Sultanpore, Secotora, Gondah,

light musketeers, wearing the undress uniform of a European cavalry officer, with a blue and gold-laced cap on his head.† Mr. Rees suggests the possibility of this personage being "a Russian: one suspected to be such had been seized by the authorities, confined, and then released;—or "a renegade Christian."—*Siege of Lucknow*, p. 150.

their weapons were in good order. They are described as having "behaved, for the most part, in the kindest manner to the wounded Europeans; taking up great numbers of them, and leaving their own wounded uncared-for on the battle-field. They had been suspected of being also tainted with the general disaffection, and were, therefore, anxious to regain the esteem and confidence of their European officers. They gave, indeed, the most striking proofs of their fidelity and loyalty on that day, showering volleys of musketry and (native like) of abuse on their assailants."*

On nearing the Kookrail bridge, a new danger presented itself. The road in front was seen to be occupied by a body of the rebel cavalry.† The guns were unlimbered, with the intention of pouring in a few rounds of grape on the enemy; but it was ascertained that not a single round of ammunition remained. The preparatory movement, however, produced the desired effect; the enemy hesitated, and, when charged by Captain Ratray and the handful of volunteers under his command, abandoned their position, and, ceasing to obstruct the road, contented themselves with harassing the rear of the retreating troops, whom they pursued even to the iron bridge near the Residency. Sir Henry Lawrence was seen in the most exposed parts of the field, riding about, giving directions, or speaking words of encouragement amidst a terrific fire of grape, round shot, and musketry, which struck down men at every step. While riding by his side, Captain James was shot through the thigh. Sir Henry remained untouched; but he must have suffered as only so good a man could, in witnessing the scene around him. Forgetful of himself, conscious only of the danger and distress of the troops, at the moment of the crisis near the Kookrail bridge, when his little force appeared about to be overwhelmed by the dead weight of opposing numbers, he wrung his hands in agony, and exclaimed, "Ally God, my God! and I brought them to this!" Perhaps that bitter cry was heard and

* Rees' *Siege of Lucknow*, p. 18.

† According to Mr. Rees, the masses of rebel cavalry by which the British were outflanked near the Kookrail bridge, were "apparently commanded by some European, who was seen waving his sword, and attempting to make his men follow him and dash at once. He was a handsome-looking man, well-built, tall, about twenty-five years of age, with

do his duty. May the Lord have mercy on his soul!"*

The words are very touching, when considered as the utterance of the man who will go down to posterity as the pacificator of the Punjab,† and to whose prudence, energy, and foresight, despite the disaster at Chinhat, the gallant survivors of the Lucknow garrison consider their success mainly attributable.‡ Indeed (in the emphatic words of Brigadier Inglis), but for the foresight and precautions of Henry Lawrence, every European in Lucknow might have slept in a bloody shroud.

Half-an-hour before Sir Henry's death, his nephew was shot through the shoulder, in the verandah. Mrs. Harris, the wife of the Residency chaplain, writes in her diary—"I have been nursing him to-day, poor fellow! It was so sad to see him lying there in the room with his uncle's body; looking so pale, and suffering." In the course of a few hours it became necessary to remove the corpse, and one of the soldiers called in for the purpose, lifting the sheet from the face, bent over and kissed it reverently. No military honours marked the funeral. A hurried prayer was read amidst the booming of cannon and the fire of musketry; and the remains of the good and great man were lowered into a pit, with several other lower companions in arms.

The death of Sir Henry Lawrence was kept secret for many days: he was even

* See descriptive letterpress, by Mr. Couper (Sir Henry Lawrence's secretary), to Lieutenant Clifford H. Meacham's charming *Sketches of Lucknow*.
† "What the memory of Tod is in Rajashtan—what Macpherson was to the Khonds, Outram to the Bheels, Napier to the Beloochees—that, and more, was Henry Lawrence to the fierce and haughty Sikhs."—*Westminster Review*, October, 1858.

‡ See Gubbins, Rees, Polehampton, Case, &c.

§ Brigadier Inglis's despatch, Sept. 26th, 1857.

|| There is not, I am sure, an Englishman in India who does not regard the loss of Sir Henry Lawrence, in the present circumstances of the country, as one of the heaviest of public calamities.

There is not, I believe, a native of the provinces where he has held authority, who will not remember his name as that of a friend and generous benefactor to the races of India."—[Lord Canning to the Court of Directors, Sept. 8th, 1857].

Sir Henry Lawrence. At a meeting held to promote the endowment of the schools founded by him for the education of soldiers' children at Kussowlie and Mount Aboo—the "two elder daughters," whose permanent establishment had been one main reason for his prolonged abode in India—Lord Stanley said—"Sir Henry Lawrence rose to eminence step by step, not by favour of any man, certainly not

Times, Feb. 8th, 1858.

ment which was harsh, or petty, or self-seeking."—

reported to be recovering; but, at last, the truth could no longer be concealed; and the tidings were "received throughout the garrison with feelings of consternation only second to the grief which was inspired in the hearts of all, by the loss of a public benefactor and a warm personal friend."§ A well-known Indian journal (the *Friend of India*) writes—"The commissioner of Oude died, not before he had breathed into his little garrison somewhat of his own heroic spirit. Great actions are contagious, and gladly would they have died for him; but it was not so to be; henceforth they will live only for vengeance." The English at Lucknow happily understood the spirit of their beloved chief much better. They had recognised in him a Christian, not an Homeric hero; and the pursuit of vengeance, "the real divinity of the *Indus*," was, they well knew, utterly incompatible with the forgiving spirit which Sir Henry uniformly advocated as the very essence of vital Christianity. In fact, his true vocation was that of a lawyer and an administrator, not a subjugator; his talent lay in preventing revolt, rather than in crushing it with the iron heel of the destroyer. Lord Canning|| showed considerable appreciation of Sir Henry Lawrence, when he dwelt on his loss as one which equally affected the Europeans and natives. This was true when it was written, in the very height of the struggle; but it is more striking now,

It is evident that the aid by which Sir Hugh and the English hoped to be enabled to tide over the expected crisis, was looked for from the chief, styled, in a foregoing despatch, the Maharajah of Bithoor. It is no small compliment to the native character, that, however little it may have been praised in words; in deeds, great reliance has been placed on allies, whose fidelity has been subjected to severe trials. In the present instance, implicit trust was evinced in the co-operation of one who notoriously considered himself an ill-used and aggrieved person, and who had lavished large sums of money in endeavouring to obtain, in England, the reversal of what he, and probably a large body of his countrymen, considered to be the unjust decision of the Indian government.

Dhoondia Rao Punt, commonly called the Nana Sahib (the son of a Brahmin), was adopted by the ex-Feishwa, Bajee Rao, in 1827, being then between two and three years of age. Bajee Rao died in January, 1851; and Nana Rao claimed from the British government the continuance of the pension of £80,000 a-year, granted as the condition of his adopted father's abdication of the sovereignty of Poona in 1818. The question here is not one of adoption; for had the Feishwa left issue of his own body, male and legitimate, the terms of the treaty of 1818 would not have warranted a demand, as of right, for the continuance of the stipend, of which a singular combination of circumstances had necessitated the concession. The treaty, framed by Sir John Malcolm, stipulated for the surrender of the person of Bajee Rao within twenty-four hours, and for the formal surrender of all political power to the British.

"The fourth article declares, that Bajee Rao shall, on his voluntarily agreeing to this arrangement, receive a liberal pension from the Company's government, for the support of himself and his family. The amount of this pension will be fixed by the governor-general; but Brigadier-general Malcolm takes upon himself to engage that it shall not be less than eight lacs of rupees per annum."*

Malcolm was much blamed for having named so large a sum as the minimum, and the Company most reluctantly redeemed the pledge he had given on their behalf:

* *Kaye's Life of Malcolm*, vol. ii., p. 254.
† Letter to Mr. Adam—*Ibid.*, p. 258.
‡ Letter to Sir Thomas Munro—*Ibid.*, p. 257.

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was, however, obtained and carried away to the in-trenchments, under the plea of meeting the salaries of the troops and other current expenses. §

though Wheeler received information regarding the 2d cavalry and 1st and 56th N.I., which induced him to order the European officers thereof to discontinue sleeping in the lines; but the 53rd N.I. being considered loyal, the officers were to remain at night with that corps. By this time the trenches were finished, the guns in position, and provisions for 1,000 persons, for twenty-five days, were declared to be in store.

It appears, however, owing to carelessness or knavery, that the quantity actually supplied fell far short of the indents. At 2 a.m. on the 6th of June, the 2nd cavalry rose together with a great shout, mounted their horses, and set fire to the bungalow of their quartermaster. The main body then proceeded towards the commissariat cattle-yard, and took possession of the government elephants, thirty-six in number; at the same time setting fire to the cattle-sergeants' dwelling. A few of the ring-leaders went to the lines of the 1st N.I., and persuaded the men—who, it is said, "were mostly young recruits, the old hands being away on leave or on command"—to join in the mutiny. Either Colonel Bwart

survive it. My post, and that of my officers, being with the colours of the regiment, in the last extremity some or all of us must needs be killed. If that should be my fate, you and all my friends will know, I trust, that I die in the execution of my duty. But I do not think they will venture to attack the intrenched position, which is held by the European troops. So I hope in God that my wife and child may be saved."

It appears from the narrative of Lieutenant Delafosse, that the Nana did not proffer, but was asked for assistance; whereupon "he sent some 200 cavalry, 400 infantry, and two guns, which force had the

guarding of the treasury.* The Nana either accompanied or followed his troops to Campoor, and took up his residence in a house not far from that abandoned by the collector. Lieutenant Thomson remarks—"His visit was made at the request of the resident magistrate; and such was the confidence placed in this infamously traitor, that the whole of the treasure (wards of £100,000) was placed under his protection."† It appears, however, that General Wheeler did make the attempt, mentioned by Colonel Stewart as intended, for the removal of the treasure, and that he failed on this and previous occasions, from the determined resolve of the troops not to submit to what they chose to call a mark of distrust.‡ A lac of rupees

* *Times*, October 15th, 1857.

† See Account of Nepal, opium gomasha, or

broker.—Further Fall. Papers, p. 31.

§ Accounts of Newport and of Mr. Shepherd. || See Further Parl. Papers (No. 7), p. 130. The

various accounts of the Carnpoor mutiny and mas-

sacre differ considerably, sometimes in material points. The weightiest authorities are of course the

telegrams and despatches written by Sir Hugh

Wheeler, and the officers serving under him, to the

Calcutta and Lucknow governments. The next in value are the testimonies of lieutenants (now Cap-

tain) Thomson and Delafosse published in letters of

various dates in the *Times*. Mrs. Murray, another

IN

IN.T., who perished at Campbop, as did also her

Dromier and two sons), has given a very circumstantial version (see *Times*, September 3rd, 1858) of

what she saw and heard, which was "put into shape"

for her by a literary gentleman; and is, Mr. Russell declares, "fiction founded on fact." That it is not

Mrs. Murray's own inditing, is evident from the

stilted and highly coloured style. A sergeant's wife would hardly talk of "Tartaric barbarity," or remark

that, on "the arrival of General Haylock, the

cowardly miscreants of Cawnpore disappeared like

...and the fact that the comet was seen in the same place as the meteorite.

most others of mingled fact and fiction, the latter

paid approximately \$100,000 to the former.

and even independently of the internal evidence of the account, the contradiction given by Lieutenant Thomson to several of Mrs. Murray's most positive assertions regarding matters which she speaks of in the character of an eye-witness, quite invalidates her authority. Then there is the clear and connected account of Mr. Shepherd, and uncovered servant of the Company, and probably an Eurasian. His testimony is of considerable value as regards what he actually witnessed; but the value of his statements is diminished by his failing to separate information which he has acquired from personal observation, from that which he has accepted on hearsay. (Further Part. Papers, No. 4; pp. 174 to 185). The same remarks apply to the story of Nepert, an opium gomashia, in the service of the E. I. Company, whose deposition was received by Colonel Neill, and forwarded by him to the Supreme government. (See Further Part. Papers (not numbered), pp. 51 to 53). The diary of the "Nunna" nawab (a native of rank residing in Cawnpore), is another document transmitted by the governor-general for the perusal of the home authorities (Further Part. Papers, No. 7; pp. 133 to 138); together with a "Narrative of the Alutny at Cawnpore," drawn up apparently as an official summary, and already largely quoted. (*Ibid.*, pp. 129 to 133). An Eurasian girl, supposed at first to have perished, and one or two others, have likewise furnished some additional particulars.

¶ Mr. Shepherd's *Account of the Outbreak.*

"The loss sustained by the British is not recorded. Several men had fallen from sun-stroke—a calamity of daily occurrence; and all were nearly prostrated by fatigue. At mid-day, when the action was over, one of the ammunition wagons exploded; and the rebels perceiving their advantage, directed a heavy fire against the spot, to hinder the Europeans from approaching to prevent the flames from spreading to the other wagons. In the midst of the cannonading, Lieutenant Delafosse approached the burning mass, laid himself down beneath it, pulled away the loose splinters, and flung earth on the flames. Two soldiers brought him buckets of water, which he threw around him; and, while the vessels were being refilled from the drinking-water of the men close by, he continued to throw earth on the burning wagon, with six cannon directed on the spot. The brave officer and his men accomplished their object, and escaped unhurt.*

The prisoners in the trenches were not the only sufferers. Besides several Europeans captured in the city, and the majority of the Christians (whether Eurasians or natives), many Hindoos and Mohammedans suspected of aiding or serving the British force, were put to death. A list was made of all the bankers, who were mulct of their wealth, and property of every description was plundered or wantonly destroyed.† Any attempt to carry intelligence or supplies to the besieged, was punished with death or mutilation; and, indeed, since the reoccupation of Cawnpoor, about twelve natives have proved, to the satisfaction of government, their claim to a pension, on the ground of having suffered mutilation of the hand or nose (and, in some instances, of both), by order of the Nana or his diabolical lieutenant, Azimollah, for bringing supplies to the British camp.‡ Sir Hugh Wheeler, in a letter previously quoted, speaks of all the Christians population taking refuge in the intrenchment; but this could not have been

possible, on account of the extremely limited space. The official, or semi-official, accounts states, that "there was a large number of Europeans resident in cantonments, many of whom were individuals connected with the civil, railway, canal, and other departments. There were, also, nearly the whole of the soldiers' families of H.M. 32nd, which was stationed at Lucknow. The whole number of the European population, therefore, in Cawnpoor—men, women, and children—could not have amounted to less than 750 lives." The number of Eurasians, of pensioners and natives attached to the British, within the camp, is nowhere officially stated; || those who resided in the city, or were excluded from the intrenchment for want of space, were among the earliest of the Nana's victims.

Lieutenant Delafosse has recorded some terrible scenes, to which he was an eyewitness during the siege; his only consolation under such distressing circumstances being, that he had no relatives, especially no female relatives, to grieve or tremble for. He describes one poor woman, named White, as walking in the trenches beside her husband, carrying her twin infants. The party was fired on, the father killed, and the mother's arms were both broken. The children fell to the ground, one of them wounded; and the mother flung herself on the ground beside them. Again—an ayah, who had remained with her mistress, was sitting, as she thought, safely under the walls of the barrack, when suddenly she was knocked over by a round shot, and both her legs carried away. The child, though hurled from her arms, was taken up uninjured.

One poor lady was hit by a ball, which entered the face near the nostril, and passed through the palate and jaw. Her daughter, also severely injured in the shoulder, forgetting her own suffering, was seen striving to alleviate the greater agony endured by her mother. They both died from their wounds.¶ Notwithstanding all this misery, we are assured "there was not one

* Mr. Shepherd's Account. Lieutenant Delafosse, in his narrative (*Times*, October 15th, 1857), omits all mention of this heroic and effective service. † Statement forwarded by Supreme government of India to Court of Directors. ‡ Russell.—*Times*, February 24th, 1859. § Statement forwarded by Supreme government to Court of Directors. || Mr. Shepherd, writing from memory, gives the following classification of the besieged, whose total number he places at 900. The European

troops (already enumerated) he estimates at 210; officers of the three Native infantry, cavalry, and others, with the staff, 100; merchants, writers, and others, about 100; drummers, about 40; women and children of soldiers, about 160; women of writers, merchants, and drummers, 120; ladies and children of officers, 50; servants, cooks, and others, after a great number had absconded on hearing the enemy's guns firing, 100; sick sepoy and Native officers who remained with us, 20. ¶ Statement of Lieutenant Thomson.

by grief for those whom they expected to leave behind in that terrible burying-place the dry well. They little thought how soon their own bleeding bodies would find a similar destination.

Of those whose names have been mentioned in the course of the narrative, few, if any, but must have lost some dear friend or relative. The son of the general (Lieutenant Godfrey Richard Wheeler, of the 1st N.I.) had been killed by a round shot, while lying wounded by his mother's side; * Mrs. Ewart had seen her husband badly wounded, and her friend (Mrs. Hilliersdon) sink with her child, of fever and exhaustion; Brigadier Jack had died of fever, and Sir George Parker, Bart. (magistrate), of sun-stroke. The total number of those who had perished is not recorded; but Lieutenant Thomson states positively, "we lost 250 men in the intrenchment, principally by shells;" and women and children fell by this means, as well as by disease. Probably, therefore, not half the number of Europeans (750) who had entered the intrenchment, left it on the fatal morning of the 27th of June; and of the number of half-castes and natives who perished with and for the Europeans, no estimate has been formed.† It was about 8 a.m. when the British reached the landing-place, situated a mile and a-half from the station. Breakfast was laid out as had been arranged, and the embarkation was carried on without hindrance or hesitation. The Europeans laid down their muskets, and took off their coats. Some of the boats (thirty in all) pushed off from the shore; and the others were striving to get free from the sand in which they had been purposely imbedded, when, at a prearranged signal, the boatmen sprang into the water, leaving fire in the thatches of the boats; and two guns, before hidden, were run out and opened on the Europeans. The men, says Lieutenant Delafosse, jumped out of the boats; and, instead of trying to free them from their moorings, swam to the first boat they saw loose. A remark in Lieutenant Thomson's narrative shows that the attempt was unsuccessful. He states—"When the boat I first took shelter in was fired, I jumped out, with the rest, into the water, and tried to drag her off the sand-bank, but to no purpose; so I deserted her, and made across the river to the Oude side, where I

* *Memoir of Rev. H. S. Polehampton*, p. 315.
† "It is reported that the persons who came out that morning from the intrenchment, amounted to

saw two of our boats." A third boat got safe over to the opposite side of the river; but all three were met there by two field-pieces, guarded by a number of cavalry and infantry. One of these boats was early swamped, and a round shot went through the second of them before it had proceeded a mile down the stream. The passengers were then taken on board the third boat, which, with a freight of fifty persons, continued its way for five or six miles, followed, on the Oude side, by about 2,000 mutineers (infantry and cavalry), with two guns. Captains Moore and Ashe (the leaders of the defence), Lieutenant-colonel Wiggins, and Lieutenants Burney, Glanville, Satchell, and Bassilico, were killed; Major Vibart, Captain Turner, Lieutenants Thomson, Pagan, Mainwaring, and a youth named Henderson, were wounded. The boat grounded about nightfall; but the Europeans managed to get once more afloat, and to distance their pursuers, who followed along shore with torches and lighted arrows, trying to set the boat on fire; and so nearly succeeding, that the Europeans were compelled to throw overboard the thatched covering which had shielded them from the sun and rain. On the following day the boat again grounded on a sand-bank at Nuffur; and here Captain Whiting, Lieutenant Harrison, and several privates were killed. Captain Turner was hit a second time. Captain Seppings was wounded, as was also his wife (the only female mentioned as having accompanied this party), and Lieutenants Daniel and Guin. A storm came on, and drove the boat down stream, until it again stuck at Soorajpoor, where, at daylight on the Monday morning, the fugitives were discovered and attacked by the retainers of a hostile zemindar. Lieutenants Thomson and Delafosse, with twelve men, went on shore to drive back their assailants, and thus enable their companions to get off the boat. This they did most effectually; but, proceeding too far inland, they were surrounded, and, being hotly pressed, lost sight of the boat, and were forced to take refuge in a small temple on the river-bank. At the door of the temple one of the party was killed: the remaining thirteen, after vainly attempting a parley, had recourse to their firelocks, and several of the enemy were soon killed or put *hors de combat*.—Shepherd's Account. How many Europeans or natives may have been included in the captivation, is matter of conjecture.

Sahib, who has made the name of our Putun great, and whose son is our quarter-master; neither will we shoot the other gentlemen [Sahib-logue]: put them in prison." But the Oude sepoy said, "Put them in prison? No; we will kill them all." The male Europeans were then made to sit on the ground, and two companies of sepoy prepared to fire on them, when one of the ladies (the wife of either the superintendent surgeon or medical storekeeper) rushed to her husband, and sitting down beside him, placed her arm round his waist, declaring, that if he must die, she would die with him. The other ladies followed her example; and all sat down close to their husbands, who said, "Go, go," and vainly strove to drive their wives away. The Nana then directed the sepoy to part them by force, which was done; "but they could not pull away the doctor's wife, who there remained. Then, just as the sepoy were going to fire, the padre [Mouchell was dead] called out to the Nana, and requested leave to read prayers before they died. The Nana granted it, and the padre's bonds were loosed so far as to allow him to take a small book from his pocket, from which he read; but at this time one of the sahibs, who was shot in the arm and leg, kept crying out to the sepoy, "If you mean to kill us, why don't you set about it; be quick, and get the work done at once; why delay? After the padre read a few prayers, he shut the book, and the sahibs shook hands all round. Then the sepoy fired. One sahib rolled one way, and one another; but they were not dead, only wounded. Then they went and finished them with their swords." After this, the whole of the women and children, including those taken out of the other boats, to the number of 122, were taken away to the house formerly used by the Europeans as an hospital, and afterwards inhabited by the Nana.

Myoor Dewarree was asked, "Were any of the women dishonoured?" He replied, "No, none that I am aware of, except in the case of General Wheeler's younger daughter; and about her I am not certain. When the rebels were taking the men-sahibs out of the boat, a sowar (cavalry man) took her away with him to his house.

* Evidence taken at the Cawnpoor camp, August 15th, 1857.—*Friend of India*, September 3rd, 1857. † Shepherd states, that a young lady, "reported to be General Wheeler's daughter," had been seized by a sowar, and killed four persons and herself: but his giving this as a matter of fact, detracts from the value of his general evidence, except regarding matters which he actually witnessed; and he was a prisoner at the time of both the first and second Cawnpoor massacres.

She went quietly; but at night she rose and got hold of the sowar's sword. He was asleep; his wife, his son, and his mother-in-law were sleeping in the house with him. She killed them all with the sword, and then she went and threw herself down the well behind the house. In the morning, when people came and found the dead in the house, the cry was, "Who has done this?" Then a neighbour said, that in the night he had seen some one go and throw himself into the well. They went and looked, and there was Misses Baba, dead and swollen. "That a young girl should kill two men and two women with a sword, is so glaringly improbable, that the wide circulation of this story, and its repeated assertion as a fact, only proves the credulity with which all rumours, however wild and improbable, are received when they fall in with the prevailing tone of the public mind. But the evidence of another survivor and eye-witness of the Cawnpoor massacre, corroborates the first part of the story, as regards the seizure of Miss Wheeler by a trooper. Towards the end of the year 1858, a half-caste Christian, named Fitchett, or Fitchett, presented himself to the local authorities at Meerut, as a candidate for admission into the police levy. The usual inquiries into his antecedents, led to the discovery that, when the mutiny broke out at Cawnpoor, he had been a musician in the band of one of the native regiments, and his life had been spared in consequence of his proclaiming his willingness to embrace Mohammedanism, which he did by an easy process, almost on the spot. He was enrolled in the rebel force, and witnessed the second massacre—that of the women and children—on the 16th of July; which cannot be narrated until the events which precipitated, if they did not cause it, have been told, and likewise the arrival of the Futteghur fugitives, to swell the list of the Nana's victims. When the Nana fled to Futteghur, Fitchett accompanied him thither; and he declares that he frequently saw Miss Wheeler; that she travelled with a trooper who had taken her from Cawnpoor; and that he was shown into the room where she was, and ordered to read extracts from the English newspapers, which the rebels received from

the writer recently quoted, smuggled in like contraband goods. "For instance," he adds, "if it were known that the *duck-land*, or some other war steamer, was bringing troops, and the public were in consequence naturally on the tip-toe of excitement respecting her, orders would be transmitted, that on the arrival of the *duckland*, the telegraph should announce the *Sarah Sands*, or a similar *nom-de-guerre*. The ship thus came up unnoticed; the troops generally landed in the dark, and were smuggled into the fort."*

On the 24th of May, the governor-general informed Sir Henry Lawrence, in reply to his urgent solicitations on behalf of Cawnpur, that it was impossible to place a wing of Europeans there in less time than twenty-five days.† Sir Henry was far from being convinced of the impossibility of the measure: moreover, he was not silenced by Lord Canning's explicit statement of what could and could not be done; and, on receiving it, he instantly sent off another telegram in the following words:—

"I strongly advise that as many *elkas* daks be laid as possible from Raneegunge to Cawnpur, to bring up European troops. Spare no expense."‡

The director-general of post-offices at Raneegunge, having probably been informed of Sir Henry Lawrence's opinion, sent a telegram to Calcutta on the same day (May 26th), in which he remarks—"Ekkas are not, I think, adapted for Europeans, nor do I think that time would be gained."

On the 27th of May, the secretary to government sent off two telegrams, each dated 8.30 p.m. One of these conveyed the thanks of the governor-general in council to Sir Hugh Wheeler, for "his very effective exertions," and assured him "that no measures had been neglected to give him aid." The other curtly informed Sir Henry Lawrence—"Every horse and carriage, bullock and cart, which could be brought upon the road, has been collected, and no means of increasing the number will be neglected."||

* "One who has served under Sir Charles Napier," gives as his authority, "personal observation, the telegraphic reports, and the notice of the circumstance by the local press."—(p. 99).
† Telegram, May 24th, 1857.—Appendix to Parl. Papers on Mayday, p. 315.
‡ Appendix to Parl. Papers on Mayday, p. 322.

gram—namely, the *elkas*—is slurred over; and it appears as if the Calcutta authorities were not a little annoyed by the perpetual jogs on the elbow of their subordinates in the North-West, and were more inclined to accept the dictum of the "post-master-general," which accorded with their own ideas of "possibility," than by strenuous efforts to comply with the earnest appeals of Sir Henry Lawrence and Sir Hugh Wheeler. Yet Lord Canning, in his instructions to the army then only advancing against Delhi, does not fail to enforce the point so vainly pressed on him. "Time is everything," he writes to the commander-in-chief, "and I beg you to make short work of Delhi." The commander-in-chief might, with good reason, have retaliated by entreating the governor-general to strengthen his hands by making "short work" of Cawnpur.

A considerable portion of the public and press of Calcutta were extremely dissatisfied at the proceedings of the government, and severely censured the supineness to which they deemed the fate of Cawnpur attributable, notwithstanding the unexpected detention of the Fusiliers at Allahabad.

The then acting editor of the *Friend of India*, has written a small volume on the mutiny, in which he thus states what was probably the popular view of the question:—

"A thousand English volunteer infantry, 100 cavalry, and 1,500 sailors, were at the disposal of government a week after the revolt became known. The waters of the Ganges do not rise until the latter end of June; and it would have been scarcely advisable to push troops up by that route so long as there was a prospect that the vessels might get aground.

"The railway and the road offered the greatest facilities for the transit of men, guns and stores; and both were in the best condition. The line was opened to Raneegunge, 120 miles from Calcutta; and, up to that point, there was no difficulty in sending a couple of regiments by a single train. Whilst the volunteers were learning how to load and fire, and the merchant seamen were being instructed in the use of artillery, government might have placed on the road, from the terminus to Cawnpur, a line of stations for horses and bullocks, at intervals of five miles, guarded, if necessary, by posts of armed men; the streets and the course of Calcutta could

This telegram is twice printed in the course of three pages. The first time (p. 322), the word "great" (counting the word "great" as "extra") is given incorrectly; the second, it is printed as "extra"—of course entirely altering the meaning. The value of the Papers printed for Parliament is not usually diminished by the frequency of these blunders.
§ 1857, p. 323.
|| 1857, p. 323.

and proportionately dull, ignorant, and sensual."

"The *Times*, commenting on this information, in evident ignorance of the vital importance to the British government of the policy which might be adopted by the Hyderabad durbar, remarked—"The fact seems to be, that we have arrived at that point in our Indian career, when the total subjection of the native element, and the organisation of all that we have conquered, becomes a matter of necessity. We have gone so far in the conquest of the country, that it is now necessary to complete the task. * * * We would even hope that the death of the Nizam may be the occasion of the Deccan being brought more completely under British sovereignty. We cannot now refuse our part or change our destiny. To retain power in India, we must sweep away every political establishment and every social usage which may prevent our influence from being universal and complete."†

In the course of another mail or two, when the extent of the danger became better understood, a different tone was adopted, as it was soon seen that the native durbar—that is to say, the Nizam, under the guidance of his able minister, Salur Jung, and his venerable uncle, Shums-ool-Omrah, had remained faithful to the British government, in opposition to the desire of the great mass of his fanatical Mussulman subjects.

From this and many similar circumstances, it seems evident that an imperative sense of duty was Lord Canning's motive in placing a temporary restriction on the press. The censorship was enacted only for a year, and expired then without the slightest effort being made for its renewal. Lords Elphinstone and Harris earnestly seconded its imposition; the Calcutta council were unanimous regarding its necessity: yet the great weight of censure was poured out on the governor-general, who, from being, "personally, extremely popular," and praised as "a conscientious, hard-working man, and no jobber (a wonderful merit in that country)," became the object of the most sweeping and unqualified animadversion. Lord Canning conducted himself with much dignity, exercising the censorship he had felt it necessary to

outlet for their commerce, and hope to find their hands strengthened by receiving the valuable products which she could so cheaply and so plentifully supply, provided only her rulers can manage to govern her peacefully, and employ her revenues in developing her resources, and irrigating her fertile plains with the fair water of her noble rivers, instead of deluging the land with blood and tears. An important admission was, however, made by Lord Ellenborough in speaking of a provision of the Press Act, regarding the suppression of any passage in a public journal calculated "to weaken the friendship of native princes towards us." After bearing testimony to the important results which had attended the fidelity of the rajahs of Rewah and Gwahar, the ex-governor-general added, that if the Indian newspapers, "in the spirit which too much animates persons in that country, had expressed a hope that, when our rule was re-established, there would be further annexations, I assure you that every part of Central India, chiefs as well as subjects, would have been in arms against us."*

The tone thus denounced had, however, been taken by many journals, and it was most necessary that Lord Canning should possess some counteracting power. The Anglo-Indian papers did not always originate incendiary articles: they occasionally copied articles issued by the London press, written hastily on a very partial and prejudiced view of the subject, and without regard to the effect likely to result from their reproduction in India. It is a fact that the Indian princes study European politics with avidity, and watch their bearing on England. Much more do they examine, through the medium of their interpreters, the language held regarding them in the English papers, and the comments made thereon by the local press.

The first despatches which conveyed to England tidings of the Meerut and Delhi catastrophe, narrated also the admirable conduct of Sindia and Holcar, of the rajahs of Bhurtpoor, Jheend, and Putteah. An Anglo-Indian correspondent of the *Times*, mentioned the death of the ill-used Nizam,† and the accession to the musnud of his son, Atzool-ood-Dowla, a prince of thirty years of age, "born to the purple of Hyderabad, * Indian debate, as reported in *Times*, December 8th, 1857.

† See Introductory Chapter, p. 55.

‡ *Times*, June 29th, 1857.
§ Speech of the Earl of Ellenborough.—*Times*, December 8th, 1857.

circumstances, will be called sheer infatuation, and no allowance made for circumstances under which zeal might easily outrun discretion. But let it be remembered it was their own lives, nothing more, nothing less, that they were so willing to hazard losing; and the cause, which rendered them heedless of personal danger, was an absorbing desire for the honour of their corps, the welfare of their men, and the service of their country.

And most effective has their devotion been. No mere human wisdom, under whatever specious name it may be disguised—discretion, policy, expediency—could have done what the fearless faith of these gallant sepoy leaders did to break the first shock of the mutiny, to stop a simultaneous rising,

to buy, when "time was everything," a few weeks, days, hours' respite, at the cost of their life-blood. It was extreme coercion that lit the fires at Meerut and Delhi; it was extreme conciliation that saved Simla and Lucknow. If some officers carried their confidence too far, and did not see that the time for conciliatory measures had for the moment passed, it must be recollected that they could not know the full extent of the secret influences brought to bear on the minds of their men; far less could they counteract the effect of panic caused, in repeated instances, by the cruel blundering of the highest local authorities, where these happened to be incapacitated for the exercise of sound judgment, by infirmity of mind and body (as has been shown at Meerut), or by the indiscriminating rashness of a hasty spirit (as is alleged to have been the case at Benares).

The panic in the lines of the Barrackpore sepoy, on the evening of Sunday, the 14th, was far outdone by that which seized on the minds of the Calcutta population, in anticipation of the possible consequences of the measure which, after all, was so peaceably accomplished. The fact of the sepoy's having allowed themselves to be disarmed without resistance, could not be denied; but the newsmongers and alarmists made amends for having no struggle to narrate, by enlarging on the imminent danger which had been averted. An order had been given by the governor-general to

* Further Parl. Papers, 1857 (not numbered), p. 52.
† *Ibid.*, p. 59.
‡ See Dr. Duff's *Letters on India*, p. 37.
§ *Ibid.*, p. 2. Dr. Duff speaks very decidedly

search the lines, after the disarming should have been accomplished,* for tulwars (native swords), or other weapons. Brigadier Hearsey did so, and acquainted the governor-general with the fact of the order having been obeyed. He makes no mention of any weapons having been found; but only adds—"All quiet."† The description of the condition of the troops on the following day, has been shown; as also the entire re-arming of their regiment. Yet Dr. Duff, writing to England, says, that "when, after disarming, the sepoy's huts were searched, they were found to be filled with instruments of the most murderous description—huge knives of various shapes, two-handed swords, poniards, and battle-axes; many of the swords being serrated, and evidently intended for the perpetration of torturing cruelties on their European victims—cruelties over which, in their anticipation, these ruthless savages, while fed and nurtured by the government, had doubtless fondly gloated."‡ Of course, the official statements since laid before parliament, prove all this to be idle rumour; but it is quoted here as showing what fables were accepted as facts, and indorsed as such by men of note in Calcutta. The Europeans, moreover, believed themselves to have escaped, by a peculiar providence, a plot laid for their destruction by some undetected Mussulman Guy Flakes. The maharajah of Gwalior had been visiting Calcutta shortly before the mutiny, and had invited the whole European community to an exhibition of fireworks, across the river, at the Botanic Gardens. The entertainment was postponed on account of a violent storm; and it was afterwards alleged that a scheme had been thereby thwarted, of seizing that night on Fort William, and massacring the Christian community.§ New rumours of a similar character were spread abroad in Calcutta, nothing was too palpably absurd to be related and received as possible and probable. True, the year 1857 will go down to posterity as one of previously unparalleled crime and disaster. But it will also take its place as a year of "canards."¶ The native tendency to exaggeration and on the subject. He states that some of the conspirators underwent the penalty of death. It is strange that other writers have not mentioned so remarkable and important event, if anything of the kind really occurred.

a fanatic and an enthusiast. Lord William Bentinck examined the punishment roll of the regiment; and finding that the men of Havelock's company, and those who joined them in their religious exercises, were the most sober and the best-behaved in the regiment, he gave Havelock the solicited appointment; remarking, that he "only wished the whole regiment was Baptist."[†]

Colonel Havelock's personal habits were simple, even to austerity; and to these, but still more to his habitual trust in an overruling Providence, may be attributed the spring of energy which enabled him to declare, on the morning of his sixty-second birthday—"Nearly every hair on my head and face is as grey as my first charger; but my soul and mind are young and fresh."[‡] Military honours he coveted to a degree which appears to have rendered him comparatively insensible to the horrors of war; and it is strange to contrast the irrepressible disgust with which Sir Charles Napier chronicles the scenes of slaughter through which he had cut his way to fame and fortune, with the almost unalloyed satisfaction which Havelock seems to have found in a similar career.

These two veterans (each of whom attained eminence after toiling up-hill, past the mile-stones of threescore years) have left on record widely different opinions. Napier uniformly denounced war as "hellish work."[§] Havelock, "having no scruples about the compatibility of war with Christianity,"^{||} prayed constantly, from his school-days to advanced age, "to live to command in a successful action."[¶] This single sentence, which conveys the cherished desire of a lifetime, is one of those utterances that reveal, beyond all possibility of error, the character, even the inner being, of the writer. Lord Havelock is said to have pronounced Havelock, "every inch a soldier, and every inch a Christian."^{**} And this praise was true in its degree; for Lord Havelock measured Havelock by his own standard of Christianity; and Havelock himself steadily pursued what he believed

Gwalior campaign of 1843, and the Sutlej campaigns of 1845-6; after which he became quartermaster-general, and, subsequently, adjutant-general of her Majesty's forces in India. In 1829 he married the third daughter of Dr. Marshman, the companion of the apostolic Carey in founding the Baptist Mission at Serampoor; and, in the following year, he openly joined that denomination of Christians, receiving public baptism in the manner deemed by them most scriptural. The step drew on him much ridicule from those who, having never had any deep religious convictions, could not understand their paramount influence on a loftier spirit. It was not, however, a measure likely to hinder his advancement in his profession; although, if it had been, Havelock was a brave and honest man, and much too strongly convinced of the paramount importance of things eternal, to have hazarded them for any worldly advantage. At the same time, it is certain he made no sacrifice of things temporal by allying himself with the once despised but afterwards powerful party, which exercised remarkable influence through the *Friend of India*, of which paper Dr. Marshman was the proprietor. As a boy, he is said to have been called "old Phlos" by his playfellows at the Charter-house, on account of his grave, philosophic demeanour. In after years, he delighted in expounding the Scriptures to his men, and in warning them against the besetting sins of a soldier's daily life, drunkenness and its attendant vice. His efforts were crowned with success. At a critical moment during the campaign in Burmah, Sir Archibald Campbell gave an order to a particular corps, which could not be carried out, owing to the number of men unfit for duty by intoxication. The general was informed of the fact. "Then," said he, "call out Havelock's saints; they are never drunk, and he is always ready."^{*}

Again—when, in 1833, Havelock sought the appointment of adjutant to the 13th light infantry, opposition was made from various quarters, on the ground that he was

* Rev. William Brock's *Biographical Sketch of*

† *Ibid.*, p. 45.

‡ *Life of Sir Charles Napier*; by Sir William

§ *Rev. W. Brock's Biographical Sketch of Sir*

¶ *Letter to Mrs. Havelock*; July 13th, 1857.—

|| *Ibid.*, p. 163.

** Brock's *Havelock*.—Preface.

†† Napier writes—"Hardinge is very religious; he

had prayers on the field of battle; 'Thou shalt not

kill, is the order; and it seems strange, in the heat of

disobedience, to pray and make parade."^{||} *Life*, vol.

iii., p. 368. It must, however, be remembered, that

it, are totally different petitions.

children. The Cutcherry and public offices had been partially enclosed by a breast-work, and "the post guns, under a select guard, had been placed at the treasury for its defence." On the 1st of June, two warnings were secretly and separately given, by a sepoy and a pay havildar, that the grenadiers were arming with the intent of attacking the treasury. The adjutant rode down to the lines, found all quiet, and the report was disbelieved. At sunset on the 3rd, the treasure was marched off towards Benares, by two companies of the 17th, and eighty of the 13th irregular cavalry, under Lieutenant Palliser, sent to Azimghur for that purpose.* It does not seem to have occurred to the officers that the measure was likely to produce excitement or dissatisfaction. According to the statement of one of these (Lieutenant Constable, 17th N.I.), they were all at mess, and had the ladies with them, when nine o'clock struck, and two muskets were fired on parade, evidently as a signal; then, "whirr went the drums—all knew that the regiment was in revolt." The Europeans rushed from the mess-room to the Cutcherry, placed the ladies on the top of it, and directed the gunners to prepare for service. The reply was an unqualified refusal to fire them-selves, or let any one fire on their country-men. The mutineers approached with deafening shouts. The officers went to meet them. There was an interval of intense anxiety; but it was soon over. The men "behaved with romantic courtesy. They formed a square round their officers, and said they would not touch, but would protect them, only that there were some of the mutineers who had sworn the death of particular officers; therefore they begged the whole party to take to their carriages, and be off at once. 'But how are we to get to our carriages?' said the Europeans, 'seeing that they are scattered all through the station?' 'Ah! we will fetch them,' replied the sepoy. And so they did; and gave the party an escort for ten miles out of the station, on the road to Ghazipoor,† which place (forty miles from Azimghur) the fugitives reached quite unmolested. The only blood shed was

* Report of Brigadier J. Christie.—Parl. Papers (Commons), 15th March, 1859; p. 25.
† Statement of Lieutenant Constable.—*Times*, August 6th, 1857.
† Rev. M. A. Sherrington's *Indian Church during the Great Rebellion*, p. 283.

that of Quartermaster Hutchinson, who was deliberately shot down by a sepoy. The doors of the gaol were opened, and about 800 prisoners let loose to plunder the deserted European dwellings, and then to band themselves together as dacoits, and invest the country districts. The gaol and treasury guards, and the Native artillery-men with the two guns, went off with the 17th N.I., in pursuit of the treasure escort, which was soon overtaken. The two companies of the 17th immediately fraternised with the mutineers, who seized the treasure. The irregulars would not act against their countrymen, neither would they join them, despite the temptation of sharing the plunder: on the contrary, they rallied round their officers, and brought them safely to Benares. There were in Azimghur, as in almost every other scene of mutiny, Eurasians and native Christians who were left at the mercy of the mutineers; while the Europeans, especially of the higher class, having carriages and horses, money and influence, with a numerous retinue of servants, were able to effect their escape. No English missionary was stationed here; but there was a flourishing school under the charge of Timothy Luther, a native Christian of experience, ability, and piety. Mr. Tucker took great interest both in the school and schoolmaster; and it is said that, after the mutiny, he and his family were brought away from Azimghur, where they had lain concealed, "by an escort kindly dispatched from Benares."† A temporarily successful attempt was made, by a private person, for the reoccupation and maintenance of the station. Mr. Venables, a wealthy indigo-planter (one of the European "interlopers" for whom the East India Company had small respect), possessed a large estate at Doorie Ghaut, twenty-two miles on the Goruckpoor side of Azimghur. He had, from the nature of his occupation, great influence with the respectable and industrious portion of the agricultural community, who had all to lose, and nothing to gain, from an irruption of revolted mercenaries and escaped convicts. The natives cheerfully rallied round him: he procured arms for their use, marched at their head, and reoccupied Azimghur, which the mutineers had already deserted. A detachment of one hundred men of the 65th N.I., and fifty of the 12th irregular cavalry, were sent to support him; and with these he held his position for some weeks, as a flood-gate against the waves of

Alcruet authorities considered that their blunder had been the salvation of India, so he thought that, "although the sepoys might have been quickly disbanded, the mistake that provoked the row was a most fortunate one." The disarming, he believes, "might have been effected in perfect peace and quietness, had it been gone about in a less abrupt and threatening manner." The 37th were drawn up in front of their lines, with the cannon pointed at them. The Europeans were posted within musket range, and the Sikhs and irregular cavalry hemmed in with musketry and artillery, naturally suspected that they were to be blown to pieces; and all the assurances of their officers proved insufficient to keep them composed. They were ordered to put their muskets into the little stone buildings called kotes, or bells. The majority of soldiers were then marched towards the bells of arms, with the view of securing them from any attempt which the sepoys might make to recover them. This movement accelerated the crisis. Ensign Tweedie states—

"The sepoys were beforehand with the Europeans, and, making a sudden rush at the bells of arms, re-covered their muskets, and fired at once upon their own officers and upon the advancing Europeans, retreating at the same time within their lines, and thence keeping up a brisk fire upon the Europeans. Up to this time, however, no officer had been hit. The sepoys of the 37th ensconced themselves for, the most part behind their huts, some of them behind the bells of arms. The majority of their officers had fallen back at once upon the European column. Major Barrett, however, indignant at the way in which what he believed to be good sepoys had been attacking him with their fixed bayonets. He was compelled to flee for his life, and a guard of faithful sepoys (principally of the grenadier company) having formed round his person, conducted him in safety to his bungalow in the cantonments. The sergeant-major also was saved by the same faithful escort. In the meantime, Captain Guise, of the 13th Irregulars, was only leaving his bungalow, and rashly attempted to reach the parade-ground, where his troop was drawn up, by riding through the lines of the 37th N.I. His chest was positively riddled with bullets in the attempt. Of course, his death was instantaneous.

"The sepoys still kept up a smart fire upon the scanty Europeans, who were labouring under the great disadvantage of having to deal with an enemy effectually secured behind their huts from observation."

These particulars are very striking, narrated as they are by a youth evidently possessed of unusual powers of observation, and on whose mind a scene so novel and exciting would naturally make a lively impression. One point, however, he has possibly mistaken; for an officer of the 13th, writing to inform the widow of Captain Guise of her bereavement, says—"Your dear husband was at his post, as he ever was; and, at the head of his regiment, he entered vigorously on the work of cutting up the rebels. His horse being faster than those of his men, he got in advance, and was only followed by Mix Bund Khan, an Afghan. Your husband followed a 37th rebel closely, and came up with him in the Sudder Bazaar, where the miscreant turned round, and fired his musket." The writer proceeds to say that the horse was wounded, and fell; that Captain Guise vainly strove to reach the sepoy with his sword, being

1857. * Ensign Tweedie's Letter.—Times, August 25th.

The hanging and the hogging, the blood-money and the burning villages; the old man "trying to trail out a bed" from his cottage, at the risk of perishing in the flames; the group of young children standing in the midst of a little courtyard, the decrepit man and aged woman, the young mother in a hot fever, with a babe or six hours old," wrapp'd in her bosom; all waiting together till the fire should consume them, and end their hopeless, helpless misery—these and other cases (of which there must have been hundreds unrecorded), were surely enough to quench the thirst for vengeance in any human breast, or at least to prove the necessity of striving to mitigate, not to increase, the miseries of intestine strife;

On the 22nd of June, a report was received that a body of mutineers were encamped about thirty miles from the city. On the evening of the 26th, a force consisting of 200 of the 78th Highlanders, the Loodiana regiment, and thirty troopers of the 13th, were sent from Benares in search of them. One of the party, in narrating the expedition, writes—"The rascals, of course, fled for life on the approach of the gallant Highlanders. You will, however, be gratified to learn, that twenty-four of the rebels were cut up by the cavalry and infantry, twenty-three caught and hung on the spot, twenty villages razed to the ground, and from forty to fifty villagers fled, in order to cool their thieving propensities. A few days before the detachment left, the magis-

* *Times*, August 21st, 1857.
 † The clergyman, whose letter, dated "Bangalore, July 4th," has been recently quoted, states, on the authority of an officer engaged in the Benares affair, † *Ibid.*
 that 100 of the Madras Fusiliers, under Colonel Neil, killed 650 of the mutineers.—*Times*, August 25th, 1857.
 § Letter dated "Benares, June 29th, 1857."

friends rather than for those of dead foes; and his policy was decidedly the more successful of the two; for the villagers generally proved willing to hazard the vengeance of the hostile forces by saving life, but could rarely, if ever, be induced by threats or promises to earn blood-money.

An escort of twelve volunteers, and as many of the 13th irregular cavalry, arrived on the following day; and, before night, the rescued party joined the Benares community in the Mint. Four persons (either Europeans or East Indians), left behind at Jaunpore, are said to have perished. These were Mr. and Mrs. Thierpland, the deputy-magistrate and his wife, who, after hiding themselves during the night of the outbreak in the house of one of the native police, were discovered and slaughtered by the irregular cavalry; a pensioned sergeant named Bigoud; and a Mr. Davis, formerly an indigo-planter's assistant, supposed to have been put to death by the villagers.*

"A life pension of 100 rupees (£10) per annum," was granted by government to Hingun Lall, with the honorary title of deputy-magistrate; with permission, as the Lalla was an old man, to commute the pension to a life jaghire, to be extended to a second life on easy terms.†

Allahabad is built on a spot which possesses rare natural advantages for the purposes of commerce and defence, and has been, from a very early period, the site of a strongly fortified city. The ancient Palibothra is said to have formerly stood here; and the Brahmins still attach importance to the place, on account of the Prayaga, or sacred confluence of three most holy streams, which unite at Allahabad—namely, the Ganges, Jumna, and Sreewati. By bathing at one favoured spot, the pilgrim is supposed to receive the same benefit that he would have derived from separate immersion in each stream; and this is no mere saving of trouble, inasmuch as the Sreewati is elsewhere inaccessible to mortal touch, and everywhere invisible to mortal sight; but the Hindoos assert that it joins the other rivers by a subterranean channel. Devotees come here and wait, in boats, the precise period of the moon when, according to their creed, ablutions, duly performed, will wash from their souls the delilement of

Mr. Cressy's Narrative. *The Sheriffs' Indian Cavalry*, pp. 207 to 210.
Part Papers on Mutiny, 1857 (No. 7), p. 118.
Lieutenant-colonel Simpson's account of the

1857.
Mutiny at Allahabad.—See *Times*, August 20th, 1857.
Appendix to Part. Papers on Mutiny, p. 157.

sin; and the hopelessly sick, or extremely aged, come hither also, and, fastening three vessels of water round their bodies, culdly step into the water and quit this life, passing by what they believe to be a divinely appointed road, into the world beyond the grave. The emperor Akber, who patronised all religions, and practised none, was popular with both Mohammedans and Hindoos. He built the modern Allahabad (the city of God), intending it as a stronghold to overawe the surrounding countries. The lofty and extensive fort stands on a tongue of land washed on one side by the Ganges, on the other by the Jumna, and completely commands the navigation of both rivers. As a British station, it occupies a position of peculiar importance. It is the first in the Upper Provinces, all to the eastward being called down-country. It is situated on the Grand Trunk road, 498 miles from Calcutta, 1,151 from Madras, 831 from Bombay, and 74 from Benares. Add to these advantages a richly stored arsenal, and a treasury containing £190,000; ‡ and it may be easily understood that its security ought to have been a primary consideration; yet, at the time of the Meerut outbreak, there was not a European soldier in Allahabad. The fort, and extensive cantonments some four miles distant, were occupied by the 6th N.I., a battery of Native artillery, and five companies of the Sikh regiment of Revorpoor, under Lieutenant Brayer, an officer of remarkable nerve and tact.

Sir Henry Lawrence early pressed on the government the importance of strengthening Allahabad with Europeans; and seventy-four invalid artillerymen were consequently detached from Chunar, and arrived at Allahabad in the latter part of May. Two troops of the 3rd Oude irregular cavalry were sent by Sir H. Lawrence for the further protection of the fort. ‖ Several detachments of H.M. 84th marched through Allahabad between the time of the arrival of the Chunar artillerymen and the outbreak of the mutiny; and the officer in command of the station had discretionary orders to detain them if he deemed their presence needed; but there was nothing in the manner of the Native troops to occasion any doubt of their fidelity, or justify the detention of the Europeans. On the

considerations quite beyond the ordinary class of volunteers. An able military leader anywhere, but specially in India, must needs be also a statesman and financier. Neil's occupation of a separate command was too brief to show to what extent he might have possessed these qualities; and his eager panegyrists have praised his "vigour," and boasted of the panic it inspired among the natives, in a manner which is calculated to detract undeservedly from his fame, when, the thirst for vengeance being assuaged, posterity shall learn to look calmly on the Indian mutiny of 1857, and weigh the deeds of the chief actors with a steadier hand than contemporary judges are likely to possess. Then it may, perhaps, be deemed that Neil's best services were not those which earned him temporary popularity; and that his admirers may be glad to palliate the "village-burning" and "unlimited hanging" system pursued by him before the capitulation of Cawnpoor, as having been, perhaps, a mistaken policy, adopted in the hope of terrifying the wavering into submission, and so bringing the war to a speedy close. The very reverse was the case. The worst massacres occurred after the firing into the disarmed troops at Benares; and, strange to say, a similar cruel blunder is declared by Captain Thomson, in his *Story of Cawnpoor*, to have driven the 53rd N.I. into rebellion. He declares, most positively, that the men were quietly cooking their

* Since the publication of the chapter containing the account of the siege and first massacre of Cawnpoor, Captain Thomson has issued a most interesting work on the subject, reiterating his previous statements, with important additional particulars. The 2nd cavalry were, he says, the first to rise. The old subahdar-major of the regiment defended the colours and treasure in the quarter-guard as long as he could, and was found, in the morning, lying beside the empty regimental chest, weltering in his blood. He recovered, however, but was killed by a shell while defending the intrenchment. "An hour or two after the flight of the cavalry, the 1st N.I. also bolted, leaving their officers untouched upon the parade-ground. The 56th N.I. followed the next morning. The 53rd remained, till, by some error of the general, they were fired into. I am at an utter loss to account for this proceeding. The men were peacefully occupied in their lines, cooking; no signs of mutiny had appeared amongst their ranks; they had refused all the solicitations of the deserters to accompany them, and seemed quite steadfast, when Ashe's battery opened upon them by Sir Hugh Wheeler's command, and they were literally driven from us by 9-pounders. The only signal that had preceded this step was the calling into the intrenchments of the Native officers of the regiment. The whole

of them cast in their lot with us, besides 150 privates, most of them belonging to the grenadier company. The detachment of the 53rd, posted at the treasury, held their ground against the rebels about four hours. We could hear their musketry in the distance, but were not allowed to attempt their relief. The faithful little band that had joined our desperate fortunes was ordered to occupy the military hospital, about 600 yards to the east of our position, and they held it for nine days; were compelled to evacuate. They applied for admission to the intrenchments, but were told that we had not food sufficient to allow of an increase to our number." They were, consequently, dismissed to Hillersden giving each man a few rupees, and a certificate of fidelity.—*Story of Cawnpoor*: by Captain Mowbray Thomson; pp. 39, 40.

† The American missionary, Owen, notes in his diary, June 19th, the deaths of three ladies on that day—named Hodgson, Purses, and Williams—of cholera; adding, "I predicted that the British would beed disease of some kind. The authorities have now commenced the work of cleansing and sprinkling them with lime."—*Sherer's Indian Church*, p. 226.

of the English more remarkable than at Jhansi, which, as the residence of a Native court, had attained some importance for its trade and manufactures. The former rajah had paid great attention to the regulation of its streets and bazars, which were remarkably clean and orderly. Sleeman estimated its population at 60,000†—a very large number in proportion to the size of the place, and the state of which it was the capital. Jhansi town is situated among tanks and groves of fine timber trees, and is surrounded by a good wall. The palace was itself a fortress, built on a rock overlooking the town; and the imposing appearance of this lofty mass of stone, surmounted by a huge round tower, was justified by the number of cannon it possessed, said to amount to some thirty or forty pieces. The government had had repeated warnings of the bitter discontent which the annexation of any state, however small, caused in the capital, by drying up the main source of income of the citizens, who depended for a livelihood on the expenditure of the court; yet Jhansi was left, fort and all, without a single European soldier.

Jhansi lies on the route from Agra to Saugor, 112 miles south of the former, 130 north of the latter, and 2½ west of Allahabad. The troops in the station consisted of—

Detail of Foot Artillery—Europeans, none; *Natives*, 27. Wing of the 12th N.I.—Europeans, 6; *Natives*, 522. Head-quarters and wing of 14th Irregular Cavalry—Europeans, 5; *Natives*, 332.

In all—11 Europeans to 881 *Natives*.

In the spring of the year the cartridge question had been the pretext, or the cause, of excitement and dissatisfaction; but the infantry at Jhansi and at Nowgong (the nearest military station), are asserted "to have become ashamed at the mention of it," and the burning of empty bungalows had ceased some time before the outbreak of the mutiny.† Captain Dunlop, the officer in command of the station, had no distrust of the troops; and the commissioner, Captain Skene, and the deputy-commissioner, Captain Gordon, concurred up to the last, in ridiculing the precautions taken at Nowgong. Such, at least, is the *Thornon's Gazetteer*.

† Sleeman's *Rambles and Recollections*, vol. i., p. 282.

† Captain Scot, 12th N.I., to deputy-adjutant-general.—*Parl. Papers on Mutinies* (No. 4), p. 121.

statement of the case by Captain Scot, of the 12th N.I., then on duty at the latter station.‡ Unfortunately, he writes from memory only; for the documents which would have shown, beyond the possibility of doubt, the state of affairs at Jhansi and Nowgong, were destroyed, with the other records, in the conflagration which took place at both places; and the accounts sent to Carnpoor met a similar fate.

Captain Scot, however, states from his own knowledge, that some days before the mutiny occurred, Captain Dunlop sent over to Major Kirk, the officer in command at Nowgong, letters from Skene and Gordon, declaring that they had learned, from separate sources, that one Luckmun Rao (the servant of the Rane of Jhansi) was doing his best to induce the 12th N.I. to mutiny; but whether with or without the authority of the Rane, had not been ascertained. Subsequent letters spoke of spies, or agents of sedition, finding their way to the Native lines, and being loyal and zealous sepoys. Of the fidelity of the irregulars no suspicion appears to have been entertained; and, indeed, both at Jhansi and Nowgong, the infantry revolted first, though "the cavalry were the most bloodthirsty" afterwards.

The only European testimony on record regarding the mutiny, is a brief and scarcely legible note from Captain Dunlop. Concerning the massacre which ensued, there is none; for no European witness survived to tell the tale. The note runs thus:—

"To the Officer commanding at Nowgong.

"Jhansi, June 4th, 1857; 4 P.M.

"Sir,—The artillery and infantry have broken into mutiny, and have entered the Star Fort. No one has been hurt as yet. Look out for stragglers.

"Yours, &c.

"J. DUNLOP."

This communication reached Major Kirk, by express, at eleven o'clock on the following day.

On the 10th, a letter in English came from Tewarry Hossein, the tehsildar of Morwaneepoor (thirty miles from Nowgong), stating that he had heard of the murder of every European at Jhansi, and had received a perwannah, to the effect that the Rane was seated on the gadi (Hindoo § See despatch last quoted; and a long letter published in the *Times*, September 11th, 1857; not signed, but evidently written by Captain Scot, to the wife of Lieutenant Ryves, acquainting her with that officer's escape to Gwallior and Agra.

to Gwalior for help: some of the clerks tried to escape in native clothes, letting themselves down by ropes; but they were caught and killed.

Kala Khan, risaldar of the 14th cavalry, was active in the assault. Ahmed Hossain, the tehsildar of Jhansi, likewise took a leading part, in connection with the adherents of the Rane. The men employed in the Salt excise joined in the attack. The Europeans felt that the struggle was hopeless, and the Hindoos and Mohammedans are alleged to have induced them to surrender, by swearing that their lives should be spared. Captain Skene opened the gates, and marched out.* The traitors instantly threw their vows to the wind; and, separating the men from the women, tied the former in a row by ropes, took the whole party into a garden in or near the city, and there beheaded them all except John Newton, the quartermaster of the 12th N.I. (a very dark half-caste), his wife, and four little children. This family was spared by the rebels, and carried off by them when they were driven from Jhansi. Lieutenant Poyas is thought to have died in the fort. He could not walk out with the rest of the party. His wife was torn from him, and fell in the general massacre. "The men died first," writes Captain Scot; "Burgess taking the lead, his elbows tied behind his back, and a prayer-book in his hands. What a sad end for so kind-hearted and unselfish a man! But to die confessing the faith is a noble death. The rest died in the same way. They tried hard to get the women and children saved." But it was in vain. The Rane does not appear to have been appealed to; but it is too probable that it was by the orders of this ambitious and childless widow—disinherited herself, and prohibited from exercising the right of adoption—that the ruthlessness was consummated. The women, we are told, "stood with their babes in their arms, and the older children holding their gowns. They had to see the men killed," but there was every reason to believe "they were spared any violence save death."†

The care bestowed by Captain Scot, in his official capacity, in sitting and collecting evidence from every available source, would, under any circumstances, be very commendable; but is specially satisfactory, * The day on which the surrender was made, appears to have been the 8th of June.

† Captain Scot's Letter.—*Times*, Sept. 11th, 1857.

as refuting the painful story which went the round of the English and Indian journals at the time, with regard to the fate of Captain Skene and his young wife. Their friends may be sure they joined with their fellow-Christians in "confessing the faith," and were probably better prepared to meet death by the sword, than many of their countrymen might be to struggle with the great adversary on their beds in England. But the long interval which elapsed before the particulars above related were ascertained, gave room for the wildest rumours. Captain Scot's account was not published until August. In the meantime, the following extract from a letter, said to have been written from India to a relative of the maligned officer, was published far and wide:—

"Frank Gordon, Alice Skene, his wife, and a few peons, managed to get into a small round tower when the disturbance began; the children and all the rest were in other parts of the fort—together, sixty. Gordon had a regular battery of guns, also revolvers; and he and Skene picked off the rebels as fast as they could fire. Mrs. Skene loading for them. The peons say they never missed once; and before it was all over they killed thirty-seven, besides many wounded. The rebels, after butchering all in the fort, brought ladders against the tower, and commenced swarming up. Frank Gordon was shot through the forehead, and killed at once. Skene then saw it was no use going on any more, so he kissed his wife, shot her, and then himself."

Information subsequently obtained, regarding the massacre, tended to confirm the evidence adduced against the Rane. Mr. Thornton, the deputy-collector, writing on the 18th of August, states it as the general impression, that the mutineers, after killing their own officers and plundering the treasury (which contained about \$45,000), were going off; and it was wholly at the instigation of the Jhansi princess, with a view to her obtaining possession of the district, that they, together with other armed men furnished by the Rane, attacked the fort. He adds, that they induced the Europeans to surrender, by solemnly swearing to allow them to depart unmolested; notwithstanding which, "they allowed them to be massacred by the Rane's people in their presence, in a most cruel and brutal manner, having no regard to sex or age. For this act, the mutineers are said to have received from her 35,000 rupees in cash, two elephants, and five horses. The Rane has now raised a body of about 14,000 men, and has twenty guns, which had been kept concealed by the former Jhansi chief, by being buried within

to Gwalior against the mutineers. Major tried to a reception of Captain Dunlop's themselves ordered a parade, and after addressing the 12th on the subject of their offer, and raising to communicate this evidence of their loyalty to government, he proceeded to announce to the troops the news of partial mutiny just received. "The right wing, 12th N.I., when asked if they would stand by the colours, rushed forward to them as one man, and were enthusiastic in their expressions of fidelity. The artillery company embraced their guns with expressions of devotion. The men of the 14th said at once they would be true to the government. They expressed no enthusiasm."*

The officers were much gratified by the conduct of the men, especially of the artillery. Some few days previously, four of their company had been seized on an accusation of mutiny, and sent off as prisoners to Chutterpoor. On the same evening (June 1st), Major Kirke had the whole of the guns of the battery brought in front of the quarter-guard of the 12th N.I., and the same precaution was continued every night. The artillery company had "been cheerful and well-disposed" until then; but they are described as feeling "affronted and humiliated" by this measure.

Early on the 5th, before the parade, forty of the 14th Irregulars, under a Native officer, had been dispatched to Lullutpoor, and a similar party to Jhansi. The latter marched to within ten miles of that place; and then, on learning the mutiny of the infantry, turned back. The first tidings regarding the fate of Captain Dunlop and Ensign Taylor, were brought by the shepherd of the left wing mess. "The 12th men, at Nowgong, seemed horrified at the news: 'most certainly (Captain Scot adds) they were sincerely so,' but the bazaar people were very anxious to send away their women and children, which Major Kirke would not allow them to do. For some time the Europeans had been looking round them for the means of escape; and the government camels, only eight in number, had been called for and examined. Alarms immediately arose that the camels had been sent for to remove the treasure, and that it was actually being drawn and that it was actually being drawn.

* Report of Captain Scot.—Further Parl. Papers, 1857 (No. 4), p. 124.
† *Ibid.*, p. 125.

Major out in small sums, with the intention of placing the whole under the charge of "the Gurwalee rajah."† The treasure was felt to be "the danger all along." The 12th continued to manifest good-will, attachment, and respect to their officers; and the senior survivor of these (Captain Scot) gives the greater number credit for sincerity, considering that they mutinied under intimidation, and from an inflated feeling that mutiny was a matter of destiny. Benares Brahmins having predicted it. All continued quiet till sunset on the 10th of June. The officers had for some time dined at 4 o'clock, with the view of going early to the lines to prevent mischief. On the evening in question, some had left the mess-room; but others remained discussing the conduct of the men, especially of the artillery. Some few days previously, four of their company had been seized on an accusation of mutiny, and sent off as prisoners to Chutterpoor. On the same evening (June 1st), Major Kirke had the whole of the guns of the battery brought in front of the quarter-guard of the 12th N.I., and the same precaution was continued every night. The artillery company had "been cheerful and well-disposed" until then; but they are described as feeling "affronted and humiliated" by this measure.

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† *Ibid.*, p. 125.

the two officers made provision for the necessities of a dying sepoy, whom they found in one of the hospitals; and for an old bedridden woman, the grandmother of a sepoy musician, who had gone off with the rebels. They then proceeded to "the Logassee rajah's, nine miles off," and there found Major Kiriak. He had started with the other Europeans from Chatterpoor; but suddenly losing his senses,* had imagined the sepoy wanted to murder him; quitted the party without giving any warning, and fled alone by night to Logassee—the chief place of another small Bundelcund state, on the route from Calpee to Jubbulpoor. In 1808, the then rajah, a chief of ancient Boondela lineage, had been confined in possession of his little fort and territory of twenty-nine square miles in extent, on condition of obedience to the British government. The present rajah treated the fugitives "most kindly," and they passed the night under his protection; yet the major could not be soothed, but persisted in imagining all sorts of horrible deeds were being meditated by his host. The three officers left Logassee on the following morning, under a guard furnished by another Bundelcund chieftainess, the Rannee of Nyagong. Meantime, the Europeans and sepoy had marched on to Mahoba, where they arrived on the 15th, expecting to overtake Major Kiriak. The sepoy expressed great dissatisfaction at his prolonged absence, murmuring that all their officers intended leaving them gradually, and declaring that they would not proceed till they had found their major. A pressing letter was addressed to him on the subject;† and it appears to have reached him; for he and his two companions joined the party at Mahoba on the 16th, bringing with them a cartload of wine, tea, and other supplies from Nowgong. The sepoy welcomed their officers most joyfully. They had been distressed by a report of their having been murdered; and "were actually weeping" with suspense and sorrow when the major arrived. The original destination of the party had been Allahabad; but news of the disturbances at Banda and Humnawpoor induced a change of route; and, on the evening of the 17th, Captain Scot says, Major Kiriak's "health had been failing; and now, from want of tea, and wine, and beer, he was quite gone."—*Times*, September 11th, 1857.

† Statement of Sergeant Kiriakoff.—Further Part. Papers on Mutiny, 1857 (not numbered), p. 77.

The next morning, before daybreak, as the Europeans were preparing to move on without Pran Sing (who had not appeared), the camp was fired into from a tree between it and the pass. The sepoy began to fire wildly in return; and the treacherous dacoits commenced in earnest. "The major now came to his senses, and was himself, from being a child who spoke of a mango, or something to eat and drink, as if it were his life." He went among the sepoy, striving to induce them to force the pass; but they were utterly disheartened, and complained that their guns could not carry so far; while the matchlockmen were picking them off from the hills. Lieutenant Townsend fell, shot through the heart; and the party retreated towards Mahoba, leaving their bugies and carts in the hands of the robbers. Some of the Europeans fled on horseback; others on foot. Dr. Mawe and Mr. Smalley, the band-sergeant, walked from daylight till past noon, keeping up with the main body. The sepoy remained close to Major Kiriak, who, as soon as the excitement of the skirmish had subsided, relapsed into imbecility; and, on reaching the outskirts of a village three miles from Mahoba, fell from his horse, and expired.

They proceeded towards Kallinger and Mirzapoor. Mr. Carne, the deputy-collector of Mahoba, accompanied the fugitives, making arrangements with the rajah of *Chirkarwe* (another Bundelcund dependent state, under the rule of a Rajpoot family) for the charge of the Mahoba district, and obtaining from the rajah a sum of money for the expenses of the journey. A heavy demand was soon made on this fund. At mid-day on the 18th, during a halt under some trees, at a little distance from a pass between two hills, through which the road lay, a message was received from a man called Pran Sing, the leader of a party of dacoits, demanding 1,000 rupees as the price of escorting the fugitives in safety to Kallinger. At first, a refusal was resolved on; but the Native officers and men urged the payment of the money; and, as they had been most obedient and anxious to please, the Europeans let them have their own way in the matter. "The men accordingly paid down 300 rupees to the head of the party, and applied to the officers for 400 rupees, to make up the advance agreed on. It was given them, and the whole paid to Pran Sing," to whom 300 more were promised on reaching Kallinger.

aged three years in mind, during her ride, she felt more horrified than Leonora after her ride with William, and could not endure my approach after her mother came.*

The begum of Banda had sent for the child immediately on her arrival, and provided English clothes and other necessities for her use; making her a present of twenty rupees. She extended her kindness to Mrs. Mawe, who remained a fortnight at Banda, and to whom the begum gave, at their parting interview, a pair of earrings, on a little silver plate. Mrs. Mawe and her child went to Calcutta, and thence to England.

Thus ends the history of the escape from Nowgong, in the course of which many Europeans perished; but not one of them by the hands of the sepoy. The only blood shed by the Nowgong mutineers, was that of a Christian drummer named George Dick, an African.

Banda, is a British district in Bundel-

cund, bounded by Fatehpour on the north, and Humnipoor on the west. The nawab, who protected the Nowgong fugitives, was a merely nominal prince, residing at Banda (the chief place of the district), in a handsome and strong palace, with an income of £40,000 a-year, guaranteed to the family by the East India Company in 1812; and maintaining a force of between four and five hundred men, comprising infantry, cavalry, and artillery, dressed and equipped in imitation of the British troops. The cantonments of the latter were situated on the east bank of the river Cane, or Keyn, and were occupied in June, 1857, by about 250 of the 1st N.I.†

The information published regarding the outbreak here, is very defective. The notices scattered through the Blue Books, are few and conflicting; and the Banda officials do not appear to have, either in their public or private capacity, furnished evidence regarding the reason of their sudden evacuation.

* Letter of Captain Scot.—*Times*, September 11th, 1857.

† Letter of Major Ellis, from Nagode. The Nagode poor commissioner, in separate despatches (June and September), asserts that it was two companies of the 50th, at Banda, who "mutined, and plundered the treasure," but this seems altogether a mistake.

Further Parl. Papers (not numbered), p. 11; and Further Parl. Papers (No. 4), p. 272. The Parliamentary Return (House of Commons, February 9th, 1858), which gives the number and description of troops at each station at the time of the mutiny at

Meerut, does not specify the regiments to which they belonged.

‡ Further Parl. Papers on the Mutiny, 1857 (not numbered), p. 2.

§ Letter of Major Ellis, June 16th, 1857.—*Ibid.*, p. 10.

¶ Further Parl. Papers relative to the Mutinies, 1857 (not numbered), p. 64.

¶ *Ibid.*, p. 106. Kiriaze is evidently a Blue-Book blunder: possibly the same town is intended as the "Kirwee" of the *London Gazette*, May 6th, 1858; where Mr. Cockrell is said to have been stationed.

The story of the sepoy's guarding the treasure, seems doubtful: so also is the tale of the joint magistrate, Mr. Cockrell, who is declared, in one official document, to have been killed at a place called Kiriaze;¶ and in another, to have come into Banda the morning after the other residents had left, and to have been murdered by the troopers.

Meerut, does not specify the regiments to which they belonged.

‡ Further Parl. Papers on the Mutiny, 1857 (not numbered), p. 2.

§ Letter of Major Ellis, June 16th, 1857.—*Ibid.*, p. 10.

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government from Jaloun. In 1817, a new treaty was made with the Nana, acknowledging him the hereditary ruler of the lands then in his actual possession.* In 1832, adoption by the widow of the chief was sanctioned, "because it was agreeable to the people."† In 1838, the British government thought fit to take the management of affairs into their own hands. The army of the state was disbanded, and a "legion" formed, with two European officers as commanding officer and adjutant. It appears that the British authorities never seriously contemplated surrendering the sceptre to the heir whom they had acknowledged; but any difficulty on this score was removed by his death. "The infant chief did not live to the period when the propriety of committing the administration of the country to his charge could become a subject of discussion."‡ In 1840, Jaloun was declared to have "lapsed, as a matter of course, to the East India Company as paramount lord;"§ the feelings of the population at the extinction of their small remains of nationality being quite disregarded. As soon as the news of the revolt at Jhansi reached Jaloun, the example was followed; and the towns of Jaloun, Calpee, and Orai, rose against the Europeans—not, however, imitating the ruthless extermination perpetrated at Jhansi, but quietly expelling the obnoxious rulers.

At the end of May, 1857, there were in Orai two companies of the 53rd N.I., under Captain Alexander: these were to be relieved, in due course, by two companies of the 56th N.I., which left Cawnpore for the purpose on the 2nd of June. The deputy-commissioner of Jaloun, Lieutenant G. Browne, had previously received a private letter from Cawnpore, warning him that the loyalty of the 56th was considered doubtful, and that the men ought not to be trusted with the care of the treasury if it could possibly be avoided. He immediately addressed a remonstrance to General Wheeler regarding the dispatch of suspected troops to guard a large treasury; but, receiving no answer, states, on the authority of a Gwalior artilleryman

* *Treaties with Native Powers*, p. 405.
† Note by J. P. Grant.—*Pride Parl. Papers* on Jhansi, July 27th, 1852.
‡ Thornton's *Gazetteer*: article "Jaloun."

§ *Ibid.*
|| Lieutenant Browne, writing from Jaloun, September 21st, 1857, says—"Lieutenant Tomkinson's fate is unknown."—*Further Parl. Papers* (No. 7), p. 154. Captain Thomson, writing in June, 1859,

the Mutinies, 1858 (No. 7), p. 154.
¶ Despatch from deputy-commissioner of Jaloun, September 21st, 1857.—*Parl. Papers* relative to Cawnpore, p. 119.
by the mutinous Gwalior contingent.—*Story of*
In the latter month he was seized and put to death in safety by a Thakoor, from June to November: horse and rode as far as Jaloun, where he was kept in kinson, when his men mutinied, "put spurs to his who had been taken prisoner, that Lieutenant Tom-

treaty made in 1817. It is 175 square miles delcund, placed under British protection by a

Summary.—is a small native state in Bunn-

Jhansi."¶
and cavalry, to go with me to the relief of "to send me in all his guns, some infantry that he had written (in his own words), rajah, to whom Lieutenant Browne states June, a force arrived from the Sumpter tion of the Native troops. On the 8th of supposed to be still holding out with a por- ceed to Jhansi, where the Europeans were until the following evening, and then pro- therefore resolved that they should rest suffering from heat and fatigue; it was means of forced marches. The men were Captain Cosserrat arrived next morning by district.

contingent, stationed at Orya, in the Etawa der regiment belonging to the Gwalior in command of two companies of the grena- assistance from Captain Cosserrat, who was Orai, and Lieutenant Browne sent to ask mutiny among the Jhansi troops reached

On the 6th of June, news of a partial restored, to be alive in concealment. ||

found, when tranquillity was partially other fugitives supposed to be killed, was or *Gazette*; and he probably, like many in the list of casualties in the *Army List* uncertain; but his name does not appear rode off and left them. His fate was long answer for his life. Lieutenant Tomkinson must not stay with them, as they could not sent to; and the sepoy then told him he poor. This he, of course, would not con- tinous, and demanded to be led to Cawn- tracing his steps; his company became un- would not permit. He commenced re- his men; but this the Gwalior authorities poor, wished to proceed to Gwalior with Tomkinson, hearing of the mutiny at Cawn- from Gwalior to receive it. Lieutenant the money delivered over to a guard sent The mission was faithfully performed, and 4th of June, under the escort of Lieutenant Tomkinson and a company of the 53rd N.I. amounting to £52,000, to Gwalior on the he sent off every rupee he could spare,

belonging to a Monsieur Jourdain, and other stragglers.

On the 14th, a body of mutineers from Jhansi came over to pillage Orai, and murdered two Europeans who fell into their hands—Mr. Hemming, an assistant-surgeon; and Mr. Double, Lieutenant Browne's clerk. The former is said to have been trying to escape in native clothes, and was killed by a sepoy of the 12th N.I., while drinking at a well near the cutcherry. Messrs. Passano and Griffiths, deputy-collectors, fell into the hands of the rebels, but saved their lives by becoming Mohan-medans; after which, they were allowed to depart. A female relative of Passano's (either his mother or sister) was killed; but whether she nobly chose martyrdom rather than apostasy, or, like the majority of the victims, had no alternative offered, is not stated.*

Mrs. Hemming and her family appear to have escaped to Calpee, from which place they were sent on to Cawnpore, after its recapture by the English, escorted by 500 of the Sumpter troops. The rajah was himself faithful to us; and his troops being lectured, fell into the hands of the rebels, but saved their lives by becoming Mohan-medans; after which, they were allowed to depart. A female relative of Passano's (either his mother or sister) was killed; but whether she nobly chose martyrdom rather than apostasy, or, like the majority of the victims, had no alternative offered, is not stated.*

CHAPTER XV.

FURRUCKABAD.—MAY AND JUNE, 1857.

FURRUCKABAD is a military station on the Ganges, in the Furruckabad district; three miles from the city from which the district takes its name. Mohammed Khan Bangerah, a Patan noble, founded this city, which he named in honour of the reigning emperor, Ferokhsheer. *Ferok*, or *Karuck*, signifies happy; and *abad*, town. "The happy" was an epithet not in any sense applicable to the ill-fated patron of Mr. Hamilton and the E. I. Company;† but the town merited the appellation, being hand-some, healthy, and cleanly; well supplied with provisions by reason of its position in the midst of a fertile and well-cultivated country, and possessing great commercial advantages from its situation within two or three miles of the Ganges, which is navigable thence upwards for 200 miles, and downwards to the sea. Its nawabs are accused of having thought more of war than trade; yet Furruckabad became the emporium, for this part of India, of all commodities from Delhi, Cashmere, Bengal, and Surat;‡ and as late as 1824, it had a mint, and the Furruckabad rupees circulated extensively through the North-West Provinces.

* Letters from commissioner of Saugor; deputy-commissioner of Jalon; and Sheo Pershad.—Furruckabad.

† See *Indian Empire*, vol. i., p. 239.
‡ *Tieffenhafer's Beschreibung von Hindustan*, vol. i., p. 239.
§ Speech of Mr. Bright—House of Commons debate on second reading of the India Bill, June 24th, 1858.

p. 139. Quoted in Thornton's *Gazetteer*: article, "Furruckabad."
In 1802, according to Mr. Thornton, "the Company assumed actual possession of Furruckabad, liquidating the claims of the tributary Patan nawab by a fixed monthly stipend of 9,000 rupees; in addition to which, an annual sum of nearly 180,000 rupees was bestowed, in pensions and charitable allowances to his dependents." The fact was, that under the Wellesley administration, native princes were so liberally provided for, and so courteously treated, that neither they nor their dependents felt the sting of poverty, much less the deep humiliation which has been their lot since the new system of annexation came into fashion, with its curt official notifications, its confiscation of personal property, and its exposure to sale of "the dresses and wardrobes" of disinherited princesses, "like a bankrupt's stock in the haberdashers' shops of Calcutta—a thing likely to incense and horrify the people of India who witnessed it."§ Under the old system, the nawabs of Furruckabad (although Patan turbulence was proverbial) seem to have submitted quietly to their foreign rulers, and to have found consolation for the loss of

Himself. * * * I am so thankful I came out to India, to be a comfort to my beloved John, and a companion to one who has so given his heart to the Lord."

On the 3rd of June, information was

received that the Native troops at Shabje-hanpoor and Bareilly had mutinied, and that a body of the Oude mutineers, consisting of an infantry and cavalry corps, were marching to Futteghur. Mr. Probyn, the collector, states, that Colonel Smith and the officers had disregarded his advice to provision the fort, and garrison it with pensioners, and others to be depended on. * Ishuree Dass, a native preacher, connected with the American Mission, likewise remarks, that it was believed, that "had the majority of the old Native officers, who retired on pension only a few weeks before, been there, half the regiment at least would have gone into the fort with the Europeans. The recruits were the ones who were constantly on the point of breaking out, and were only kept down by the elder sepoys. So sure was the commanding officer of the fidelity of these men, that only two or three days before the regiment mutinied, he told us there was no occasion for fear, and that we might make our minds at ease."† This is quite contrary to the testimony of Mr. Jones, who asserts, that "the 10th were known to be mutiniously disposed; for they had given out, that as soon as another corps arrived, they would rise and murder all the Europeans, only sparing their own officers." Mrs. Freeman, the wife of one of the four missionaries stationed by the zealous and munificent American Presbyterians at Futteghur,† writes home, that "no one placed the least confidence in the 10th; for the men had told Colonel Smith that they would not fight against their 'bhai logue' (brethren) if they came, but they would not turn against their own officers." This lady adds—"Some of our catechists were once Mussulmans; and whenever they have gone to the city for the last two or three weeks, they have been treated with taunting and insolence. The native Christians think, that should they, the insurgents, come here, and our regiment join them,

woven in European looms. A church had been erected in 1856, at the cost of £1,000. The Mission high-school had 250 pupils; there were also two orphan schools (for boys and girls), and seven bazaar schools, in connection with the Mission. Ten village schools, supported by Dhuleep Sing, were likewise under the management of the missionaries.

calmly (like Mrs. Ewart of Carnpoor) the speedy and violent death which awaited her, her husband and child, Mrs. Monckton writes—

"We cannot say, 'Pray for us.' Ere you get this, we shall be delivered one way or another. Should we be cut to pieces, you have, my precious parents, the knowledge that we go to Jesus, and can picture us happier and holier than in this distant land; therefore, why should you grieve for us? You know not what may befall us here; but there you know all is joy and peace, and we shall not be lost, but be gone before you; and should our lives be spared, I trust we may live more as the children of the Most High, and think less about hedging ourselves in with the comforts which may vanish in a moment. * * * Good-bye, my own dear parents, sisters, and friends. The Lord reigns! He sitteth above the water-flood. We are in the hollow of His hand, and nothing can harm us. The body may become a prey, but the souls that He has re-deemed never can."

A few days later, she describes the terror excited by the report of the breaking open of another gaol besides that of Meerut, and the enlargement of many murderers.

"We went to church; very few people were there, and fear seemed written on every face—it was most noticeable; everybody felt that death was staring them in the face, and every countenance was pale. Mr. Fisher [the Company's chaplain] preached on the text, 'What time I am afraid, I will trust in thee.' * * * We are quite prepared for the worst; and feel that to depart and be with Christ, is far better. The flesh a little revolts from cold-blooded assassination; but God can make it bear up."

On the 1st of June, she wrote home some last words, which well deserve a place in the history of a great national epoch, as illustrating the spirit of grateful, loving trust in which our Christian country-women awaited death, even though the inventions and gross exaggerations current at the time, must have led them to anticipate that their passage through "the dark valley" would be attended by every possible aggravation which could render it terrible to feminine purity, as well as to the tenderest feelings of a wife and a mother.

"I often wish our dear Mary was now in England; but God can take care of her too, or He will save her from troubles to come by removing her to Edwards' Rebellion in Rohilund, Futteghur, and Oude, p. 67.
† The American Board of Missions had a very important station at Futteghur. The self-supporting Orphan Asylum, established at the time of the famine in 1837, had a tent and carpet factory, and also a weaving department, in which cloth was

proceeding down to Cawnpore by boat; but the news of the mutiny at that station, reached them just in time to save them from flinging themselves into the power of Nana Sahib and Azim Oollah. On the 10th of June they crossed the Ganges with Mr. Probyn, and joined the refugees at Dhurumpoor. All these persons, including the judge, were extremely dissatisfied with their position. The crowded fort was scarcely tolerable during the intense heat; and the defences were so dilapidated, as to render it hopeless to expect to hold them against any organised attack of the mutineers. The conduct of the 10th N.I., in the matter of the great outbreak, determined the Europeans on returning in a body to Rutehghur, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Mr. Probyn, who, with his wife and four children, resolved upon remaining under the protection of Hurdoo Buksh—a decision which the party leaving considered one of extreme foolishness. Edwards hesitated, but eventually resolved on remaining at Dhurumpoor.

For some days after the return of the Europeans to Rutehghur, all went well. The 10th N.I. gave a fresh instance of fidelity by handing to Colonel Smith a letter written by the subadar of the 41st N.I., announcing the march of that mutinous corps from Seetapore, to a position a few miles on the opposite side of the river, and requesting the 10th N.I. to rise, murder their officers, and seize the treasure. The answer asserted to have been given was, that the 10th had resolved on being true to their salt, and would certainly oppose the mutineers if they persisted in advancing. The 10th cheerfully obeyed their officers in breaking up the bridge of boats, and sinking all other boats at the different ghauts, to prevent the mutineers from crossing to Rutehghur.* They succeeded, nevertheless, in effecting a passage at dawn of day on the 18th of June, and entered the city walls unopposed. A company of the 10th, and the artillerymen with the two guns, stationed on the parade guarding the treasure, are said to have marched to the nawab, placed him on the "gadi" (cushion of sovereignty), laid the colours at his feet, and fired a royal salute of twenty-one guns.† Their next proceedings are not known. It is uncertain

* Account by Mr. Jones.—Parl. Papers (No. 7), p. 138.
† *Ibid.*, p. 139.

what reply the nawab made them; but apparently not a satisfactory one; for the sepoy returned to the parade-ground, saluted their colours, shared the treasure among themselves, divided into two parties, and left Rutehghur, after breaking open the gaol, and releasing the prisoners. All this time the Europeans remained unmolested in the fort, where they always slept from the first period of alarm. The few sepoy on guard there, remained obedient to orders until the seizure of the treasure, and then departed quietly, one or two returning at intervals to fetch their lotahs and other articles left behind in the fort. A European officer quitted Rutehghur with the mutineers, trusting to them for safe-conduct to some distant station: at least this seems the meaning of the statement made by Mr. Jones, and published by government without explanation or comment. After mentioning the breaking-up of the regiment, he adds, that "the Poorbeahs crossed over at once to Oude, with intention to make for their homes, accompanied by Captain Bignell. We afterwards learnt that this body had been plundered by the villagers, and Captain Bignell killed: others went off by twos and threes to their homes; and those who remained were killed by the 41st, because they were not allowed a share in the public money. Thus this regiment was completely disorganised and destroyed."‡

‡ The Europeans knew not how to act: some suggested entering the boats; but the river was very low; and it was decided to hold the fort, and prepare for attack. They numbered, in all, upwards of a hundred; but of these only thirty-three were able-bodied men. A 6-pounder, loaded with grape, was mounted over the gateway; and, in the course of the next few days, they succeeded in bringing six more guns into position. The godowns were searched for ammunition for the guns and muskets, and a few (muster) round shot and shells were found, together with six boxes of ball cartridge, and an equal quantity of blank. The latter was broken up and used for the guns; while nuts, screws, hammer-heads, and such like, were collected, to serve as grape and round. The ladies, women and children, were placed in the house of Major Robertson (the head of the gun-carriage agency), inside the walls, where they were comparatively safe. On the 28th of June, the 41st N.I. opened two guns on the fort; and, taking up a position behind trees, bushes, and any cover

throwing her down. Major Phillet, Ensign Rickford, and a few others, Mr. Jones did not see, but supposes them to have been killed. After about an hour's swimming he reached the other boat, which had also been fired on, and Colonel Goldie's youngest daughter, a Mr. Rohan, and a native boatman, had been killed, and several others wounded. The voyage was continued that night, without further molestation. Early the next morning a European voice was heard from the shore, hailing the boat. It was Mr. Fisher, who was lifted on board, delirious with mental and bodily suffering; raving about his wife and child, who had been drowned in his arms. In the evening the party reached a village in the territories of Hurdeo Buksh—opposite Koosoomkhore, in Oude. The inhabitants came out, with offers of assistance and protection. After some hesitation, from fear of treachery, the hungry and weary passengers came on shore, and fed thankfully on the chupatties and buffaloes' milk brought them by the herdsmen. A poor Brahmin took Jones with him to his home, and gave him food and a charpoy, or native bed, to rest on. In the course of two or three hours, a message came from Colonel Smith, saying the boat was about to start. The wounded man was, however, unequal to any further exertion, and he persisted in staying with the friendly thakoor native. The Europeans were unwilling to leave their countryman behind, and sent again and again to beg him to join them. At last they started, and nothing more was heard of the boat for several days, till the manje, or head man, who took her down, returned, and gave out that Nana Sahib had fired upon them at Cawnpore, and all on board had perished. The herdsmen, in their dread of the probable consequence of harbouring a European, hid the fugitive so closely, that Hurdeo Buksh was himself many days in ignorance of the fact that Jones was in his territory; but as soon as he became acquainted with it, he took care to provide him with food and clothing. In the meantime the poor young man had suffered terribly from his wound, which threatened to mortify. In his extremity, he thought of the parable of Lazarus. A little puppy came frequently to the shed when he was at his meals, to pick up any crumbs that might fall: he induced it to lick the wound night and morning; the inflammation diminished im-

mediately, and the hurt was nearly healed before the fugitive ventured forth to join his countrymen.* He thought himself the sole survivor from the boats; but this was not the case; Major Robertson, after having had his wife washed out of his arms, swam away with his boy on his shoulder. The child appears to have perished, but the father found refuge in a village, about four miles from that in which Jones lay hidden. Mr. Churcher, junior, had likewise escaped, and was concealed in an "aher," or herdsmen's village, at a considerable distance from the places in which his countrymen were. Mrs. Jones (the widow of the gentleman killed during the siege) and her daughter, Mrs. Fitzgerald, and a single lady, whose name is not given, had been taken from the boat, and given over to the nabab, who held them in captivity. None of the Europeans sheltered by friendly natives, were permitted to see, or communicate with, each other, except the Pobyri family and Mr. Edwards, who refused to separate, even though urged to do so, as a means of increasing their small chance of escape. The record of their adventures affords much insight into the condition of Oude and the feeling of the people. The loyalty of Hurdeo Buksh was greatly strengthened by his personal attachment to Pobyri, who, he said, had invariably treated him as a gentleman. Of Mr. Christian (of Seetapore), he also spoke in terms of respect; but the ill-paid, needy, grasping "omlahs," who were introduced in such shoals in Oude immediately after the annexation, had proved the curse of the country, and, in his plain-spoken phrase, had made the British rule "to stink in the nostrils of the people." The person of the chief accorded well with the mainly independent of his character. Mr. Russell has since described him as a very tall, well-built man, about thirty years of age; standing upwards of six feet high, with square broad shoulders; regular features, very resolute in their expression; and dignified and graceful manners.

A body of the 10th N.I., 250 in number, actually crossed the Ganges during the time their comrades were besieging the Futteghur fort; and it was said that a large number of mutineers would follow, to attack Dhurnapoor, put the Europeans to death, and seize some lace of government treasure, which, according to a false, but

* Edwards' *Personal Adventures*, p. 128.

do; and, after wandering about for some time, as we afterwards learned, he received a sun-stroke while crossing a stream, and was carried in a dying state into a village, where he shortly after expired." The wretchedness of the fugitives at Kussowrah was increased by intense anxiety regarding Futtehghur. While sitting, one afternoon, listening to the firing, a note was brought them from the judge (R. Thornhill), written in haste and depression, describing the worn-out state of the garrison, and imploring Robyn to induce Hurdeo Buktsh to go to their aid. The messenger who brought the note had eluded the besiegers by dropping from the wall of the fort into the Ganges, and swimming across. The retainers of the rajah, although willing to peril their lives in defence of the refugees under the protection of their chief, or in repelling any attack on Dhurumpoor, were determined not to cross the Ganges, or provoke a contest with the mutineers; and the messenger returned to Futtehghur with this sad reply. At the same time, Robyn advised Thornhill to endeavour to get the assistance of a body of men in Burrukabad, called "Sadhs"—a fighting class of religiousists, who were supposed to be very hostile to the sepoy. After the evacuation of Futtehghur, the two subahdars in command of the 41st, appear to have made a mere puppet of the nawab of Burrukabad, and to have compelled him to issue what orders they pleased. A message was sent, in the name of the nawab, to Hurdeo Buktsh, informing him that the English rule was at an end, and demanding from him an advance of a lac of rupees, as his contribution towards the expenses of the new raj, or, in lieu of it, the heads of the two collectors, Probyn and Edwards. Several days elapsed, during which the fugitives were kept in constant alarm, by rumours of detachments being on the march to Kussowrah, for their apprehension. At length Hurdeo came to them by night; and, though quite resolved on opposing to the death any attempt which might be made to seize them, he said he had been obliged to treat with the nawab, in the hope of gaining time; as, so soon as the rains should fall, the Rungunga and Ganges would rise in flood, and the whole country be inundated, so that "Dhurumpoor and Kussowrah would become islands surrounded with water for miles; he might then defy the sepoy, as it would be impossible for him to bring guns against him, and they would not dare to move without artillery." In the meantime his own position was extremely critical, and fully justified his anxiety about his family; for the mutineers threatened, if he did not immediately surrender the Europeans, to take very complete revenge both on himself and his people. Speedy succour could not be expected; the most important stations looked for it in vain. The hearts of the fugitives sank within them, as, pent up in the cow-house, they heard from Hurdeo Buktsh, "that Nana Sahib had assumed command of the mutineers at Campoor, where the English had been so completely destroyed, that not a dog remained in the cantonment; that Agra was besieged; that the troops at Delhi had been beaten back, and were in a state of siege on the top of a hill near there; that the troops in Oude had also mutinied, and Lucknow was closely invested."

It was highly probable that the rebels, and especially some of the escaped convicts, would immediately come and search Kussowrah. Near the village there was a tract of jungle, many miles in extent, in the midst of which was a hamlet of some four or five houses, inhabited by a few herdsmen,* and called by the fitting name of *Runjpoora*, the place of affliction. This village, during the rainy season, became a complete island of about a hundred yards square. The only pasture, on sufficient high land to escape being submerged, was about three miles distant, and both cattle and sheers proceeded to-and-fro by swimming—a mode of progression which habit appeared to have made as natural to them as walking on dry land to ordinary herds and herdsmen. To Runjpoora the party proceeded, after some discussion regarding the advisability of separating, as a means of escaping observation. The Thakoor offered to take charge of the children, promising to do their utmost for them; and urged that, by parting, the lives of all might be saved; but that if, unhappily, "the children did perish, their loss might be repaired—their parents might have a second family; but they could never get second lives, if they

* Edwards mentions a singular fact with regard to this little community. On Sundays, the sheers would on no account part with the milk of their cattle, but always used it themselves.—(p. 116.)

but having besides the ground-floor only one upper story, and no *tyekhana* below. The front rooms of the ground-floor were made use of for the officers, the interior for the men, and the back part for a dispensary. It was formerly the banquet hall of the residents, the lower apartments having been made use of for an office. A battery of three guns, an 18-pounder, a 13-inch howitzer, and a 9-pounder, were placed between the Water Gate and hospital. The right wing of the hospital served as a laboratory for making fuses and cartridges, and fronting it was placed a battery of three mortars. "The Bailey Guard was a continuation of the hospital, but built on ground to which one had to descend considerably. A portion of it was used as a store-room, another as the treasury, a part as an office, and the remainder as the barracks of the native soldiers who guarded this place, commanded by Lieutenant Aitkins. Having on its left only the brick wall surrounding the neutral space of the residency garden, already spoken of, it was by no means a strong position. To the right of these buildings was the Bailey Guard, *par muthew*, the guard-room of the sepoy formerly guarding the residency, but, being without our boundaries, unapproachable by either ourselves or the enemy. The gateway to the right was lofty, and a fine piece of architecture. The gate was, however, to be blocked up with earth, and in the event of an entrance being forced, two 9-pounders, and an 8-inch howitzer between them, could shower grape and canister into the assailants.

"Dr. Fayer's house, like the Bailey Guard, facing the east, was also commanded by the clock-tower of the Purced Buktah palace, and the out-offices of the *Tehree Kothee* and *Nakarukhana*. It was a fine and commodious lower-roomed house, raised on a considerable elevation, with a terrace, whence there was excellent rifle-shooting. It was commanded by Captain Weston and Dr. Fayer, who is a first-rate shot, and has sent many a sepoy to answer for his sins in another world. A 9-pounder, loaded with grape, was placed in a north-eastern direction, to command the Bailey Guard gateway, if possible.

"Coming out of Dr. Fayer's house, and down the road to the left, was the civil dispensary, which, being situated between Dr. Fayer's, the post-office, the Begum *Kothee*, and the gaol, was one of the safest places in the whole garrison. It had previously been a portion of the post-office.

"The post-office, during the siege, was one of the most important positions we had—commanding, as well as being commanded by, the *Havilah* gaol and a mosque to the right, and the clock-tower and out-offices of the *Tehree Kothee* to the left. It was made the barrack-room of a great portion of our soldiers, and contained two 18's and a 9-pounder pointed in different directions, and protecting in some measure the Financial Office and Sago's garrisons below. Besides these, there were three mortars playing into the *Cawnpore* road, the *Motee Alhal* palaces, and the buildings round about the new palace and the old gaol. There was also a workshop attached to it, for the manufacture of tools and the preparation of shells and fuses. It was the head-quarters of the engineers, whose office and residence it was made, and besides offered accommodation to several families.

"The wall bounding the south side communicated, by breaches made in it, with the gaol, native hospital, school-houses, and the *Cawnpore* battery, as well as with the judicial and Anderson's garrisons.

"The Financial Office outpost, a large two-storied house, was, like Sago's garrison, at first not intended to be within the line of our defences, and was only retained on account of the positions being most probably untenable by the enemy, since they did not command any part of the residency houses, which overtop them, at the same time that they were useful in repelling advances made from the positions of the rebels on a level with it. It was barricaded on all sides with furniture and boxes within, but the out-offices and gate-ways were apparently very weak. The house itself was large and extensive, and had two verandahs, both well barricaded. It communicated with the residency through the post-office, and was directly below Dr. Fayer's house. Captain Sanders, of the 13th, commanded this outpost with great ability and courage. Sago's outpost, a lower-roomed and comparatively rather small building, was contiguous, being only separated by a wall from it. Both these outposts, during the siege up to the arrival of the first reinforcements, were particularly dangerous; and their

THE HILL-FORTRESS OF GWALIOR.

The city or town of Gwalior, capital of the Mahratta state of that name, is situated at the base of a precipitous, isolated rock, about 80 miles S. from the city of Agra, and 772 N.W. of Calcutta, in $26^{\circ} 18' N.$ lat., and $78^{\circ} 30' E.$ long. The celebrated hill-fortress, from which its chief importance is derived, is built upon the rock mentioned, which is one mile and a-half in length, by about 300 yards wide; the elevation from the plain, at the northern extremity of the plateau, being 342 feet. The sides of the rock are precipitous and rugged, and are impossible of ascent but by ladders, or by a single approach on the north-eastern side, where it gradually dips toward the plain. Around the brink of the precipice a stone parapet is erected, within which rises the fort of the Maharajah Sindia, one of the most tried and faithful of the native princes of India.

The entrance to the enclosure within the rampart is near the north end of the east side; in the lower part by a steep road, and in the upper part by steps cut in the rock, wide enough to permit elephants to make the ascent. A high and massive wall protects the outer side of this huge staircase: seven gateways are placed at intervals along its ascent; and guns at the summit command the whole of it. Within the enclosure of an inner rampart is the citadel—an antique palace surmounted by kiosks, with six lofty round towers or bastions, connected by walls of immense thickness and extent. It has been calculated that at least 15,000 men would be requisite to garrison this fortress completely; and it has always been considered of great importance among the native chiefs. Tradition reports it to have been used as a stronghold during more than a thousand years.

Gwalior has, undoubtedly, in all ages been a military post of great importance, as well from its local peculiarity of position, as from its central situation in Hindoostan. Under the imperial domination of Akber and Aurungzebe, it was occupied as a state prison, in which obnoxious branches of the reigning family, or subjugated princes of other states, were confined until death relieved them from the thraldom of captivity. Within the limits of the fortress the royal prisoners were not debarr'd enjoyment, so far as it was compatible with their safe keeping; and among other expedients provided for their amusement, a numerous menagerie of lions, tigers, and other wild animals, was kept within the fort. On account of its presumed security when it first came into the possession of the Mahrattas (who also retained its use as a state prison), it was made a principal depot for artillery, ammunition, and military stores.

Upon the dismemberment of the Mogul empire, after the death of Aurungzebe, Gwalior fell into the hands of a Jat chief, known as the rana of Gohud. From him, or his descendants, it was acquired by stratagem by Sindia, the ruling chief of the Mahrattas, in 1779. From the latter it was, however, wrested in the following year by a British force under Major Popham; who, despite its repute for impregnability, escalated the scarp'd rock on which it stood, at daybreak on the 3rd of August, 1780, and planted the British colours on the summit of its towers. The storming party on this dangerous exploit was led by Captain Bruce, brother of the great Abyssinian traveller. Three years afterwards the fortress was restored to the rana of Gohud by Mr. Hastings, the governor-general, who soon found occasion to regret the cession; and, changing his policy, sanctioned aggressive measures on the part of Sindia, which eventually again placed the important fortress in the hands of the Mahratta chief. Thus affairs continued until shortly after the commencement of the present century; when, offence having been given to the Company's government by the Sindia family, hostilities again broke out, and the power of the Mahratta received a severe check. At this time, and from the year 1794, when Madhaje Sindia died, the dominions of this important branch of the great robber tribes of India, extended from beyond Delhi on the north, to near Bombay on the south, and from the Ganges to Gujerat; a vast region, acquired and held by means as atrocious as any recorded in the history of India. War having been found inevitable to curb the arrogance and rapacity of the Mahrattas, Sir Arthur Wellesley, on the 21st of August, 1803, inflicted a severe chastisement upon them at the battle of Assaye (a fortified village

hands of the murderers were two officers, Majors Blake and Hawkins, who had been conspicuously trustful of their men; and by those men they were slain, with others, on the night of the outbreak. Dr. Kirk, with his wife and child, concealed themselves in a garden during the night; but, in the morning, they were discovered. Mrs. Kirk was robbed, but was not at the time further ill-treated: her husband was shot dead before her eyes. At this miserable sight the poor woman begged the murderers to put an end to her also; but, pointing to the corpse of her husband, they replied with some feeling—“No, we have killed you already!” Such of the Europeans as could get away escaped to Agra; and it is some mitigation of the guilt of the mutinous troops that they allowed the ladies and children to depart without ill-using them, beyond the mere act of plundering such as had any property about them.

The position of Sindia was now a very trying one. As soon as the troops of his contingent had murdered or driven away their European officers, they went to him, placed their services at his disposal, and demanded that he would lead them against the British at Agra: but he not only refused to sanction their previous outrages, but endeavoured to prevent them marching towards Agra; and in this he succeeded until an advanced period of the autumn. In September, however, they could no longer be restrained; and, on the 7th of that month, the native officers of the different corps waited upon Sindia, and demanded to be led either to Agra or Cawnpore. As the answer to their request was not conformable to their wishes, they seized the means of conveyance, and the main body of them left Gwalior, but without offering violence to their chief.

At length, the disasters that had followed every effort of the rebellious troops when opposed to British valour, compelled them to seek some position in which, at a moment of imminent peril, they might be able to maintain themselves with some prospect of success; and Gwalior being the most important stronghold in Central India likely to be accessible to them, they turned their eyes toward it as a place of refuge in case of extremity. This view being adopted by the chiefs in revolt, the Marhatta and Rajpoot insurgents resolved that, if Sindia would not join them against the British, they would attack and dethrone him, and instal another maharajah in his place. To effect this object, the rebel forces, towards the end of May, 1858, drew near Gwalior, and were met in the field by Sindia, whose whole force then consisted of about 9,000 men and eight guns. The strength of the enemy was somewhere about 11,000 men, with twelve guns. The rebel were led by the range of Jhansi, the nawab of Banda, Tantia Toppe, Rao Sahib (nephew of the Nana), and other chiefs of eminence, both Mohammedan and Hindoo; and at 7 a.m. on the 1st of June, they made their appearance before the capital in order of battle. Sindia divided his army into three columns or divisions, the centre of which he commanded in person. The engagement had scarcely commenced, when the whole of the troops of Sindia, with the exception of his body-guard, went over in a body to the enemy. The contest was, however, continued till half the number of the faithful guard had fallen, when the rest fled with their master to seek safety at Agra. Directly the maharajah had thus abandoned his capital, the rebels entered it, and endeavoured to form a government of their own. They chose Nana Sahib as Peshwa or head of all the Marhatta confederacy, and appointed his nephew, Rao Sahib, chief of Gwalior, which arrangement was assented to by the disloyal troops of Sindia, as well as by those belonging to other chiefs in enmity with him. During the rebel occupation of Gwalior, the bulk of the army under the range of Jhansi, remained encamped in a garden called the Phoolbagh, outside the city, and all due precautions were taken to guard the approaches: the property of the principal inhabitants was sequestered; the treasures of the maharajah were seized by the connivance of a treacherous servant, named Amcerchand Batya, who had been his father's treasurer; and a formal confiscation of all the royal property was declared.

The possession of Gwalior by the rebels was not of long duration, for it was considered by the supreme government to be of the greatest importance that the daring act of its seizure should be promptly and effectually chastised. A force, under the command of Sir Hugh Rose, was therefore dispatched for its recovery; and so rapid were the movements of the British troops, that by the morning of the 16th of June they had reached the cantonments. A series of engagements occupied the next three days, which all ended in the discomfiture of the rebels. By the evening of the 18th they had

Delhi yielded an enormous booty in gold, silver, and jewels, especially rubies and diamonds. Herihta, the historian, declares that the amount stated by his authority so far exceeds belief, that he refrains from mentioning it. Neither does he give the number of persons of all ranks dragged into slavery; among whom were many masons and other artificers competent to the erection of a mosque, in which the sanguinary Timur, previous to his departure from the city he had desolated, offered up thanks for the punishment he had been enabled to inflict upon the inhabitants. For many weeks Delhi remained ungoverned, and nearly uninhabited; and the territory belonging to it became in a short time so reduced by the ravages and aggressions of neighbouring chiefs, that it extended in one direction but twelve miles, and, in another, scarcely a mile from the city.

By the vicissitudes common to Eastern history, Delhi after some time gradually recovered its importance, and became again the capital of an extensive dominion, unaffected by the convulsions around it, until the early part of the sixteenth century, when, after a sanguinary conflict at Paniput, continued to the very walls of the city, it was surrendered to the emperor Baber, sixth in descent from Timur. From this period until the reign of Shah Jehan, which commenced in 1627, little of moment appears on record as regards Delhi; but during the lifetime of that monarch, the city was rebuilt on a magnificent plan, far surpassing the original design; and the imperial establishments being now removed thither, sumptuous edifices were built for the nobles and public offices, and Delhi became in appearance, as it had long been in rank, an imperial city.

During the reign of Mohammed Shah, Delhi was subject to continual alarms from the struggles for power that raged among the nobles of the court, and an attempt to subvert the authority of the emperor by setting up Abdullah Khan as a rival to the throne, in whose behalf a force was collected. The armies of Mohammed and of the pretender met between Agra and Delhi, and the latter was signally defeated and made prisoner. Mohammed Shah entered Delhi in triumph—the empress-mother receiving him at the entrance of the harem, bearing a basin filled with gems and new coins, which she poured over his head as a “wave-offering” of joy and thanksgiving. The reign of Mohammed was marked by weakness, and by the open extravagance and corruption that prevailed among all classes, from the emperor downwards; while the intrigues of the Alahrattas surrounded him with a net from which, ultimately, he found it impossible to escape with life. The kingdom, weakened by incapacity and neglect, at length attracted the notice of Nadir the Persian, an adventurer who had mounted the throne of that kingdom in 1736, under the title of Nadir Shah, the “wonderful king;” and who now, at the head of a formidable army, advanced towards Delhi. After an action with the ill-commanded troops of Mohammed, who were signally defeated, and the king made prisoner, the conqueror marched into Delhi, and established himself in the royal palace, distributing his troops throughout the city, and stationing detachments in various places for the protection of the inhabitants. During the first day strict discipline was maintained, and all was quiet; but, on the second, a rumour spread of the death of Nadir Shah; and the populace immediately rising, slew all the Persians within reach, to the number of 700, including some of those who had been stationed for the protection of private dwellings. The tumult continued during the whole night; and at daybreak Nadir Shah mounted his horse and sallied forth, believing that his presence would at once restore order by proving the error of the current report. Flights of stones, arrows, and bullets from the houses soon undeceived him; and one of his chiefs being killed at his side by a shot aimed at himself, he ordered his troops to retaliate, and not leave a soul alive where they should discover the corpse of a Persian. This command involving license for a general massacre, was eagerly obeyed: the soldiery rushed into the houses, and gave free loose to their revenge, and lust, and covetousness. The streets of Delhi streamed with blood; many thoroughfares were blocked up with carcases; flames burst forth in all parts of the town, where the wretched inhabitants, distracted by the thought of beholding their wives and children in the hands of the enemy, had preferred sharing with them a fiery death. The shrieks and groans of the dying and the dishonoured pierces the air, overpowering at times the fearful imprecations, or yet more heinous scoffs of their persecutors; and, from sunrise to broad noon, these horrid sights and sounds continued unabated. Nadir Shah, after issuing the terrible mandate, went to a little mosque in the great bazaar near the centre of the city, and there remained in

became depopulated through the savage ferocity of its Persian invader in 1739. Fifteen years after this terrible visitation, the city was again given over to pillage and slaughter by the troops of Ahmed Shah, the second in succession from Nadir the destroyer. In 1759, the Mogul power succumbed to the energy and superior tactics of the Maharrattas, who became masters of the territory of India from the Indus and Himalaya on the north, to nearly the extremity of the peninsula on the south; but the pomp and circumstance that had adorned the capital of the Moguls was now transferred to Poonah. Its fading glory did not, however, exempt it from further misfortune; and in a fearful struggle which ensued between the Maharrattas and the Rājapoots in 1767, Delhi was again entered by a hostile force of the former, under Sewdasheso Rao Bhow. The victors, on taking possession of the city, consummated their success by defacing its palaces, tombs, and shrines, for the sake of the rich ornaments which had been spared by the Persians and Afghans. They also tore down the silver ceiling of the Hall of Audience, which was coined into seventeen lacs of rupees (£170,000); seized the throne and all other royal ornaments, and destroyed the male inhabitants without distinction of rank or age. The emperor Shah Alum, who succeeded Alimgere II. upon the despoiled throne of the Moguls, had been constrained to abandon the capital and take up his residence at Allahabad, under the protection of the English; when, by a sudden revulsion of policy on the part of the Maharrattas in 1770, he was informed, that if he did not choose to accept the invitation given to him to return to his capital, his son would be placed on the throne. According to this necessity, Shah Alum reached Delhi in December, 1771, and entered its ancient gates amid the acclamations of the populace. From this time until his death (some thirty-six years subsequently), his life was a career of uninterrupted misery, through the tyranny of his Maharratta allies and the bad faith of the East India Company and their servants, who were alternately his protectors and his oppressors. At length, on the 10th of September, 1803, he formally surrendered himself and his empire into the hands of the Company, in return for their protection and an annual stipend of thirteen and a-half lacs of rupees,* reserving to himself the nominal title of Emperor of Delhi; and from this time until the outbreak of the revolt in May, 1857, the city of Delhi remained in the uninterrupted possession of its English masters.

The successive invasions by the Persians, the Afghans, and the Maharrattas, and the destruction that invariably followed their conquests, will account for the extensive belt of ruins which, for a distance of some twenty miles, environ the city built by Shah Jehan. For the devastation within its walls, consequent upon its storm and recapture by the British troops under General Sir Archdale Wilson, in September, 1857, we must refer to the following extracts, from details furnished by the actors in the terrible drama of retribution:—"Withou the walls the devastation was widely spread; but ruin had concentrated its fury upon the ill-starred city. From the Lahore gate to the village of Subzee Munde, on the Kurnaul road, there was an almost continuous line of carcasses of camels, horses, and bullocks, with their skins dried into parchment over the sapless bones. Here and there were remains of intrenchments where battles had been fought on the road. From Badlee Serai, a short distance from the Lahore gate, every tree was either levelled with the ground, or the branches were lopped off by round shot: the garden-houses of the wealthy citizens were, in almost every instance, masses of ruins, with the remains of men and beasts bleaching around them. Here and there might be seen the perfectly white skeleton of one who had shared in the terrible struggle of the siege, and had fallen unnoticed and unremembered by his fellows; while on all sides lay scattered fragments of clothing, cartouch boxes, and exploded shells. Around the Subzee Munde all foliage was destroyed; the gaily ornamented residences in the vicinity of the Serai were now mere masses of blackened ruins, with broken sand-bags and shattered loopholed walls, that proclaimed the fiery ordeal through which the combatants on either side had passed. With the exception of the Moree bastion and the Cashmere gate (both on the north-east side of the city), the line of defences did not exhibit much traces of injury; but within the walls, the appearance of the city was fearfully desolate. Entering by the Cashmere gate, the first object seen was the Mainuard, now a mass of ruins. St. James's church next appeared, battered with shot even up to the

* See ante, p. 129.

† Vide also *History of the Indian Mutiny*, vol. i., pp. 498; 520; vol. ii., pp. 166; 170.

occupied and secured. By noon, possession was obtained of the Jumma Musjid. The cavalry that on the previous day had been sent round to the southern face of the city to observe the enemy's camp outside the Delhi gate, returned to report that it appeared to be abandoned; and the explosion of a magazine in that direction, which had been heard early in the morning, seemed confirmatory of the report. The resistance of the mutineers in our front became less and less decided. On the left, by ten o'clock, the gun or guns in front of the palace had been taken and spiked. Then a column was formed for the palace itself. It advanced, blew open the great gates, and occupied the vast piles of building, which were found all deserted. Two hours more, and Selimgahur and the bridge were taken. Nothing now remained but the south-western quarter of the town, with its wall and gates beyond the Jumma Musjid; and by five in the afternoon, this also was in the possession of the troops: nor this only, but also the abandoned camp beyond the walls. And thus, by the close of the seventh day of this arduous struggle, the labours of the gallant force were crowned with complete success. The appearance of the once rich and populous city, when the storm of fire and iron that so long had raged over its every street, at last cleared off, bore witness to the vigour with which that storm had been directed and maintained. Under one vast pile of ruins lay festering carcases of slaughtered rebels. Perhaps no such scene had been witnessed in the city of Shah Jehan since the day when Nadir Shah, seated in the little mosque of the Chandnee Chouk, directed and superintended the massacre of its inhabitants. And if the slaughter that thus attended the righteous vengeance of the British general was less extensive and promiscuous than that which followed upon the sanguinary caprice of the Persian tyrant, yet the ruin of the imperial city was more certain and complete in 1857 than it was in 1739. The excesses of Nadir were to the Mogul sovereignty as a violent but passing attack of illness to an individual, which permanently weakens his constitution, indeed, but from which, though shaken, he yet recovers. The triumph of the English struck the debilitated patient dead. He who had borne the titles of Great Mogul and King of Delhi still lived, it is true; but his sovereignty, long virtually, was now actually at an end. His palace was in the hands of his conquerors. His most inner and sacred apartments became the head-quarters of the English army. In his white marble pavilion—the Dewan Khass, or private council-chamber—was heard, on the evening of the 21st of September, 1857, a sound such as had never before broken the stillness of its early splendour or of the squalid solitude of its later days. It was the cheering with which the head-quarter staff received from the general the name of the Queen of England. Never, surely, was there a more fitting place in which to give the health of that royal lady than in the heart of the palace of the enemy who had defied her power; never a time more fitting than when the majesty of the empire had been so signally vindicated, and the massacre of so many of those who were her sisters as well as her subjects, had been in part, at least, avenged. No wonder that the cheers rang out through the marble arches into the courts and gardens of the palace; no wonder that the escort of Goorkas, loyal as gallant, caught and returned them.

The city of the Moguls was now indeed but little better than one vast and blackened ruin!—its houses and streets deserted, and its defences unmanned; while the sentence of utter demolition hovered over its shattered gates and once defiant towers. The imperial city had now not one hand uplifted in its defence.

But the terrible yet just work of retribution was carried on by British soldiers in a spirit of humanity that contrasted strongly with the practices of native warfare. The women and children found concealed or straggling in the city, were spared all harsh treatment, and were even protected from personal indignity by men fierce with the excitement of war, and burning to avenge the murders and outrages perpetrated upon their own countrywomen: but they were generous as well as brave. Nor were the male inhabitants afterwards molested who had remained passive during the struggle, and had not aided the rebellion by their resources or their sympathy. All such were peaceably allowed to quit the city upon applying for permission to do so; and even those who were suspected of treason, had the advantage of a fair trial; and when death subsequently ensued, it was because previous guilt was clearly established.

An officer, writing from the city a few days after its reduction, says—"The Cashmere gate presented a horrible sight: thirty or forty sepoy, some blown up, and others

describes the incidents of his visit to the ruins of the prostrate capital:—"After a time there rose dimly along the horizon a dark ridge, not distant, but hazy and indistinct, so that the eye could not at first distinguish the difference between the trees and cupolas, minarets and battlements, with which they were blended. Then came in sight, beneath this ridge, a wide river, on the other side of which I could now make out the castellated walls of imperial Delhi, crowned with bastion and turret, and the lofty domes of mosques and palaces just reflecting the rays of the sun. The city thus seen has a noble aspect, which becomes more impressive on a nearer approach, till the rifts, the dilapidations, and the decay along the water-face of the works are visible. The river itself protects this side of the city, and therefore the weakness of the wall towards the east is of smaller consequence; but it so happens that the part of the city defences we attacked were the strongest of the whole. However, our ground had good command of portions of the place, and we could not pick and choose. Had we attacked from the south we should have found the walls and bastions inferior in strength, and fewer advantages of position in other respects; but it was impossible to move round the city from the north, even had it been desirable to remove from the ridge, where our left flank was defended by the Jumna, and our right rested on a defensible cliff above a ravine. The river at this period of the year is rather low, and is spread in several channels over a wide expanse of sandy bed, which it forms into islands. The road conducts us to a bridge of boats, moored by bark ropes to anchors up stream, fastened to stakes in the river, and provided with apparatus to suit the rise of the waters. There are actually shaky posts for oil lamps stuck at intervals along the line of boats, and sheds of reeds are erected in the stern of each boat to give shelter from the sun. There is a sentry on each end of the bridge, and no native is allowed to pass without inquiry. The Jumna flows at the rate of two miles an hour or so, in turbid and shallow streams; but higher up it becomes deeper. Notwithstanding large offers of rewards, we never could get this bridge destroyed during the siege, and we could scarce touch it with our guns; so that we had the mortification of seeing the rebels and their convoys and supplies crossing it whenever they chose. They did not often go that way if they found it as unpleasant as I did, for the gharry shook tremendously. The bridge leads to the Calcutta gate; but before one reaches it he sees the grand feudal-looking keep of Selimghur rising on his left out of the waters of the river by which it is surrounded. Although it has seen better days, this fort, built of solid stone-work, with massive walls, deep-set, small-eyed windows, possesses an appearance of real strength, which was honestly refreshing after a long course of stucco and compo. It is only accessible by a very lofty bridge, thrown on high arches from the city wall across the branch of the river which insulates the castle, and it is now occupied by a detachment of English troops. At this point the wall of Delhi sweeps round by the curve of the river, and in front of us is the Calcutta gate. The masonry here dates from the time of Shah Jehan, the Great Mogul, to whom Delhi owes its grandest monuments and works. It bears marks of time here and there; but very little outlay and labour would renovate the fine face, which rises to the height of thirty-five or forty feet before us, pierced with loopholes, and bastioned at intervals for its defenders. Passing by the drawbridge and through the Calcutta gate, which offers nothing remarkable, we enter at once into the streets of an Eastern town, rather cleaner and wider than usual. Our course lay for a short time by the city wall; then through a wider street—the houses closed, but pitted all over with bullet-marks; then through a silent street—the houses closed, but pitted all over with bullet-marks; then through a wider street, with public buildings shattered and half ruinous—English guards and English children looking from the doorless halls. Here the magazines were open, and the native shopkeepers sat in their open stalls; but the marks of bullet and cannon-shot became thicker and thicker at every pace; the trees by the side of the way were split and rent; doors and windows were splintered; the gables were torn out of houses; and walls let in the light at jagged holes, through which shot and shell had heralded its advent long ago. At last all is ruin—house and wall and gate alike crumbled under a tremendous bombardment. Then comes a spot over which the storm has passed more lightly; and in an open space there stands, clean, fresh, and radiant in the morning sun, the restored church of Delhi, not destitute of architectural attraction, surmounted by a cupola and ball and cross; and in those particulars and in the general design, affording some likeli-hood that the architect had not quite forgotten St. Paul's cathedral when he drew his

of the Mogul. A grand face of rich red sandstone, darkened by time, crenellated in two rows, rises to a height of fifty or sixty feet above us, and sweeps to the right and left in melancholy grandeur, slightly broken in outline by turrets and flanking towers. The gems of which the casquet is so grand ought, indeed, to be rich and precious. The portal is worthy of the enclosure. Except the Victoria gate of our new palace of Westminster, I have seen no gateway so fine in proportion and of such lofty elevation. The massive iron and brass-embossed doors open into a magnificent vestibule in a great tower, which rises high above the level of the walls, and is surmounted by turrets and four cupolas of elegant design. On passing the gates we find ourselves in a sort of arcade, vaulted and running for the length of the tower, in the midst of which there is a very small court, richly ornamented with sculptured stone-work. The entrance is guarded by a soldier, who might be mistaken for a very sunburnt and savage-looking English rifleman. He is dressed in dark green, nearly black, and supposed by the military authorities to be very like foliage in hue, and therefore suitable to riflemen—like one of our brigade; but he wears a dreadful compromise between a Glengarry bonnet and a turban, made of green cloth with a red tartan border, on his head; his eyes are wide apart, his cheek-bones are high, his lips thick, his face round, like his head, and his jaws square. I don't think I ever saw Saxon or Celt or Scottish, or Irish mixture of the two, exactly the same as that man. He is, in fact, one of our Goorkas. The arcade conducts us to an open courtyard, surrounded by houses of excessively poor aspect. At one side there, in the turreted gateway, Mr. Sammers points out to us the room, below a cupola, where two of our countrywomen were brutally murdered. But in the courtyard before us a more terrible scene was enacted. There is a dry stone tank, in which there once played a fountain, in the centre of the court. Above it a venerable and decaying tree casts an imperfect shadow over the stone seats on which, in former times, those who came hither to enjoy the play of the waters and their refreshing music were wont to repose. It was at this spot, beneath this tree, and round the fountain, that the Christian captives, women and children, after several days of painful respite and anxiety, worse than the fate they decreed, were hacked to pieces by the swords of the ferocious and cowardly miscreants, who in their mad excitement forgot that Mohammed had ordered women and children to be saved from death. There is as yet no other memorial of the tragedy; but to 'ex ossibus ulior' the dungeon of the captive monarch who permitted the defilement of his palace by such deeds is close at hand—the house of Timur, the descendants of Baber, Shah Jehan, and Aurungzeb, have fallen never to rise; smitten in the very palace of their power, which has become their dungeon. Around the very place where that innocent blood ran like water, are ranged, as grim monuments of retribution, row after row of guns taken from the enemy; our guards are in the gates; and of the many who took part in the murders it is probable few live to dread the punishment which, sooner or later, will strike them. The mouldering walls of the palace buildings, broken lattices, crumbling stone-work, and doors and wood-work split, decayed, and pointless, the silence only broken by the tread of the sentry, or our own voices, rendered the whole place inexpressibly sad and desolate. But sadder still when one thought of the voices, of the cries which resounded within these walls one short year ago. It was with a sense of relief—a deep long-drawn breath—that we proceeded towards another grand gateway, leading by a long vaulted arcade into a courtyard paved like the former, but kept in trimmer order, and surrounded by continuous edifices, some of white marble, all of rich decorations in arabesque, the most conspicuous of which, notwithstanding the attractions of a beautiful mosque, is the Hall of Audience—the 'Devan Khass'—*

The following extracts from letters of individuals personally engaged in the hazardous struggle which resulted in the conquest of the city, will appropriately close this brief sketch of its history. The first are from the correspondence of an officer attached to the staff, dated "Delhi, September 26th, 1857," five days subsequent to its reoccupation by British troops. The writer, after referring to some incidents of the assault, already noticed, proceeds to say—"I think those who called the fortifications of Delhi a garden-wall, have only to walk round them to be satisfied of their mistake. The defences are exceedingly strong; and though the heights, a mile distant, facilitate a siege, they by no means, for practical purposes, give any real command of the

* See ante, p. 128.

houses; and will never show a front. As soon as they hear a cheer from the Europeans they run away like mice. We remained till the night of the 24th of August without progressing, when an order was given out for the 61st and 1st Europeans, and some Sikhs, to march at four the next morning to a place called Ruffinjar. It was given out by our spies the day before, that a large body of the sepoy had left Delhi, and proceeded to this place for the purpose of cutting off our supplies. We marched in the morning, and overtook them about four, and a good hard fight took place; but, as usual, we made the scoundrels run. Lieutenant Gabbett, of No. 2, got killed. We lost five or six men, and had several wounded. We captured thirteen guns and all their camp equipage. I forgot to mention that we were losing so many men with cholera, that we had to send to Ferozepoor for the left wing. They also came by double marches, and had to encounter a great deal of trouble on the road. They arrived at Delhi on the 14th of August. The weather was getting a little cooler, but still it was very disagreeable in tents. After they arrived, I am sorry to say, the cholera broke out as fresh as ever. We buried, in one day, nine men; you can't guess how we were situated. We hardly had men enough to relieve the pickets. Things remained that way till the siege-train arrived from Ferozepoor. We were anxiously looking for it every day. At last the artillery and big guns arrived, and then we had harder work. Then we were night after night building batteries and lying in the trenches, and the artillery were bombarding the walls of Delhi and the city day and night. We had a great many men wounded in the trenches. On the night of the 13th, when all our advanced batteries were ready for action, part of the army left camp, and advanced within a hundred yards of the walls, under cover, ready to storm the place, which we did at about daylight the next morning; the remainder of the regiments entering at other parts of the city all about the same time. We managed it beautifully, although there were a great many killed and wounded; I dare say over 1,000. The scoundrels flew in all directions. We entered the city, and halted at the church that night, sending out pickets. We remained in the church until the night of the 16th, when the 61st got the order to fall-in at three the next morning, nobody knowing what for; the colonel telling us at the same time, we had some hot work to do before we dined. We fell-in, and were told-off to four divisions, twenty-two file each—in all, 176. That was all we could muster, we had so many sick and wounded. We marched towards the magazine, stormed the breach without any noise, and got the word 'Charge!' and no doubt our boys did charge with a vengeance, shouting like madmen, and killing every one that came within our reach. I think we took the rascals by surprise, or they would not have given up the place so easily. We had two men killed, and about six wounded. After getting into the magazine, they came down by hundreds; but they could do us very little harm. We being inside and they out, the fools commenced pelting stones at us, and trying to burn down a lot of sheds that were in the place. We captured 148 guns, besides a lot of shot, shell, and ammunition. Our work was now done for that day. I am only writing about our own regiment. Other regiments were doing equally as much good as ourselves. There were the 8th, 52nd, 60th rifles, 75th, 1st and 2nd Europeans, all fighting as hard in other parts of the city; and out of all these regiments they could not form 3,000 men, the army was suffering so much from sickness. We were relieved from the magazine by the 52nd regiment, and then our regiment was divided; some went to the bank, and others to different pickets in the city. On the morning of the 20th, part of our regiment and the rifles took the palace, with very little opposition on the part of the enemy; and that finished the taking of Delhi. A royal salute was fired on the morning of the 21st of September on the walls of Delhi, in honour of the capture of the city, palace, &c. We expected to have taken the king by our people about thirty miles from Delhi, with his sons. They were all brought back. Two of his sons were shot the other day, and the king is now a prisoner, awaiting his trial. A European sergeant-major of the 28th native infantry was taken prisoner, trying to make his escape from Delhi. He is also awaiting his trial. He had given assistance to the sepoy after the mutiny broke out."

annual grant of £100,000 being paid to him as an equivalent for his independence; out of which he was required to support the vast retinue of relations and dependents collected within the walls of the imperial residence, who altogether numbered some 12,000 persons. Notwithstanding the degraded position to which this prince had sunk as a mere pensioner on a commercial company, both Hindoos and Mussulmans throughout the vast empire that had bowed to the undisputed sway of his predecessors, still looked up to him as the only representative of the ancient glories of India. Princes still sought from his hands the solemn and legal investiture of their states; he bestowed robes of honour on the native chiefs upon their accession to the musnud, as tokens of his suzerainty; and more than once attempted a similar assumption of superiority upon the appointment of a governor-general of the East India Company. Until the year 1827, it is alleged, that the Company acquired no new province without formally applying to the king of Delhi for his nominal sanction and royal firman to confirm their title. At length, during the administration of Lord Amherst, in 1827, this false position on both sides was corrected, by taking from the powerless occupant of a shadowy throne his last vestige he possessed of independent sovereignty, in exchange for an increased pension of £150,000. The implied vassalage of the Company to the great padishah or ruler of India, was thrown aside as a troublesome fiction; and from that time Shah Akber became utterly powerless beyond the walls of his palace, except in regard to the traditional and historic influences of a race of which he was still the living representative, and, as such, continued to be looked up to by the descendants of the millions who had borne allegiance to the house of Timur.

Shah Akber reigned absolute within the walls of his domestic kingdom until his death in the year 1849, having for some time previous endeavoured to procure the sanction of the governor-general to his choice of a successor to the titular throne of Delhi, which he desired should be occupied by one of his younger sons, thereby setting aside the claims of the eldest-born. This arrangement was not permitted by the Company; and, consequently, upon the death of the Shah, his eldest son, Mirza Aboo Zulfur, became king, assuming the title of Mahomed Suraj-oo-deen Shah Ghazee. This prince must have been between sixty and seventy years of age upon his accession to the throne, which he occupied until it was shattered into fragments by his connection with the sepoy revolt of 1857.

From the accession of Suraj-oo-deen in 1849, until the month of May, 1857, when the incidents occurred of which he ultimately became the victim, the king resided in Oriental seclusion and barbaric pomp within the boundaries of his palace, without exciting the notice or awakening the jealousies of the stranger race into whose hands the staff of his imperial power had passed. On the morning of Monday, the 11th of May, 1857, a party of mounted horsemen, soiled with dust and blood, and reeking with the foam of hasty flight from the massacre at Meerut, appeared beneath the walls of the palace, proclaiming that the rule of the Deringhee was at an end, and that Hindoostan was again under the independent sovereignty of its native princes, of whom the king of Delhi was chief. After a short parley, the troopers were, by the king's order, admitted within the palace, and announced to him that the whole of Hindoostan had risen to shake off the yoke of the English; that Calcutta, their capital, and other chief towns, were already in possession of the native army, which had risen against their officers; and that it only required that his majesty would unfurl the sacred standard of the Mohammedan empire, and the whole of the warlike millions of India would rally round it, and re-establish the independent throne of Timur by driving the English intruders into the sea, or feeding the vultures with their carcasses. During the conference, some troops of artillery, which had also deserted from Meerut the previous night, reached the city, and, entering by the Calcutta gate near the palace, fired a royal salute in front of it. This incident decided the wavering inclinations of the aged king; and he consented to the demand of the troopers, whose numbers were increased by the accession of the native regiments in cannonment near Delhi. From that moment the sword of destruction was suspended over the head of the king, and but a short time elapsed ere it fell. Meanwhile, the soldiers exulting in their triumph over his scruples, and feeling they had now a rallying-point under any emergency, rushed from the presence of the infuriated monarch, to satiate their thirst for blood by the massacre of such Europeans as fell into their hands.

At length, on the 8th of June, 1857, an English force, numbering altogether about 3,000 men, under the command of Major-general Sir Henry W. Barnard, after a sharp conflict with a portion of the rebel army, which vainly attempted to arrest its progress, succeeded in taking up a position upon an elevated ridge about a mile from the city, which it commanded. From that moment the doom of the rebel capital, though for a time deferred, was felt to be inevitable.

The royal troops of Delhi had now other occupation found for them besides eating the king's sweetmeats; but, according to a native account, however valiantly they acquitted themselves behind walls and loopholed buildings, they had little stomach for fighting in the open field. The native writer of a diary kept the first few weeks of the siege, says—"The bravery of the royal troops deserves every praise: they are very clever indeed. When they wish to leave the field of battle, after shooting down many Feringhees, they tie a piece of rag on their leg, and pretend to have been wounded, and so come into the city lame and groaning, accompanied by many of their friends to assist them along." The same writer also says—"The shells have destroyed lots of houses in the city; and in the fort, the marble of the king's private hall is broken to pieces. His majesty is very much alarmed when a shell bursts in the fort, and the princes show him the pieces. Many of the royal family have left the palace through fear." Again, on the 22nd of July, the same writer says—"The other day the king sent for the Subahdar Bahadour, who commands the troops in the fort, and desired him either to remove him out of the fort, or do something to stop the British shelling, which was very destructive. The subahdar begged his majesty to remain in the fort another day, and during that time he assured him he would devise means to put a stop to the annoyance." It is needless to say the subahdar did not keep his word.

At length, on the 18th of September, it was reported to Major-general Wilson, by spies from the city, that the king, with his sons, the three royal regiments, and some other corps of native infantry, and troopers of the light cavalry, had secured themselves in the palace, and were determined to resist to the last man: but almost immediately upon this announcement, indications of a design to evacuate the palace were apparent; and, during the night of the 19th, the king and princes, with their women and attendants, accompanied by a considerable number of the troops, retired from the royal residence to seek a temporary refuge near the palace of the Cootub Minar, about nine miles from the city, whither, on the following day, they were pursued and captured by Captain Hodson and a party of fifty of his irregular horse. The incidents of the occurrence are thus described in a letter to the brother of Captain Hodson, by an officer intimately acquainted with the operations of that distinguished commander, and who had the details at the time from the lips of himself and other eye-witnesses of the facts related. This officer, after some preliminary remarks as to former meritorious services of Captain Hodson, says—"On our taking possession of the city gate, reports came in that thousands of the enemy were evacuating the city by the other gates, and that the king, also, had left his palace. We fought our way inch by inch to the palace walls, and then found truly enough that its vast arena was void. The very day after we took possession of the palace (the 20th), Captain Hodson received information that the king and his family had gone, with a large force, out of the Ajmere gate to the Cootub. He immediately reported this to the general commanding, and asked whether he did not intend to send a detachment in pursuit, as, with the king at liberty and heading so large a force, our victory was next to useless, and we might be the besieged instead of besiegers. General Wilson replied that he could not spare a single European. He then volunteered to lead a party of the irregulars; but this offer was also refused, though backed up by Neville Chamberlain.

"During this time messengers were coming in constantly; and, among the rest, one from Zeenat Mahal (the favourite begum), with an offer to use her influence with the king to surrender on certain conditions. These conditions at first were ludicrous enough—viz., that the king and the whole of the males of his family should be restored to his palace and honours; that not only should his pension be continued, but the arrears since May be paid up, with several other equally modest demands. I need not say these were treated with contemptuous denial. Negotiations, however, were vigorously carried on; and care was taken to spread reports of an advance in force to the Cootub.

to a small building in one of the courts of the imperial residence, where, under a proper guard, they remained, with about half-a-dozen attendants, until their final destiny was decided upon.

A letter from the palace, dated the 24th of September, describes a visit to the dethroned and captive majesty of Delhi in the following terms:—"The day after the king was caught, I went to see him with two or three officers. He was in a house in a street called the Lal Koor-street—i.e., the Red Wall-street. He was lying on a bed with cushions, &c., a man fanning him, and two or three servants about. He is, and looks very old, being very much wasted; has a very hooked nose, and short white beard, and is by no means regal looking. He seemed in a great fright, and apparently thought we had come to insult him; so we merely looked at him and came away." Another correspondent writes—"We have seen the king and royal family; they are in ruinous little rooms in one of the gates of the palace. The old king looks very frail, and has a blank, fixed eye, as of one on whom life is fast closing. He certainly is too old to be responsible for anything that has been done."

An officer who, in his tour of duty, had charge of the royal prisoner, writes thus:—"I was on guard over the king and his wives and concubines on the 24th and 25th, and was obliged to be much on the alert to prevent rescue or attempts at escape. I was ordered to shoot him if things came to the last extremity. Yesterday I handed him over to a guard of the 60th rifles, and was exceedingly glad to be relieved of so responsible a position."

"The requirements of justice had now to be satisfied by the punishment of the royal traitor and his rebellious sons; the latter having also taken an active part in the early massacres at the palace and the Khottwallee. The king himself was reserved, on the ground of his advanced age (eighty-five), for the more formal and deliberate procedure of a military commission; but for his principal agents in the dire work of rebellion and murder, no unnecessary delay was allowed to interpose, and their fate was as promptly decided as the severity of it was merited. Two of his sons and a grandson had already paid the penalty of their crimes by death, at the hands of Captain Hodson; and shortly afterwards, two others of the princes were captured, and, after being tried by a military tribunal, were also shot.

On the 10th of October, a message was transmitted from the governor-general in council to General Wilson, from which the following is an extract:—"If, as has been reported to the governor-general in council, the king of Delhi has received from any British officer a promise that his life will be spared, you are desired to send him to Allahabad, under an escort, as soon as that can be safely done. The escort must be strong enough to resist all attempts at a rescue, and must consist, in part, of some European infantry and cavalry, with field guns. Any member of the king's family who is included in the promise, is to be sent with the king. You will appoint one or two officers specially to take charge of the king, who is to be exposed to no indignity or needless hardship. If no promise of his life has been given to the king, he is to be brought to trial under Act 14, of 1857. The special commissioners appointed for this purpose are, Mr. Montgomery, judicial commissioner of the Punjab; Mr. C. G. Barnes, commissioner of the Cis-Sutlej states; and Major Lake, commissioner of the Trans-Sutlej states. You will summon these officers at once to Delhi, in the event of a trial of the king taking place. Mr. C. B. Saunders will act as prosecutor, will collect the evidence, and frame the charges. Should the king be found guilty, the sentence is to be carried out without further reference to the governor-general in council."

Shortly before the arrival of these instructions at Delhi, Major-general Wilson had resigned the command of the army on account of failing health, and was succeeded by Major-general Penny, who, on the 22nd of the month, wrote thus to the secretary of the government:—"Your message to Major-general Wilson, now sick at Mussoorie, has been sent to him to explain under what conditions the king's life was promised him.* The king, agreeably to instructions, will be sent to the fort at Allahabad as soon as the road shall be freely opened; but that cannot be immediately."

Some time elapsed before any active measures were adopted with regard to the condition was simply that he should surrender without resistance. See preceding page. *Vide*

* *History of the Indian Mutiny*, vol. i., p. 510.

prefer taking the customary oaths. The prosecutor then read the charges against the prisoner, and proceeded to address the court in a clear, concise, explanatory manner, observing, that although the prisoner might be fully convicted by the court, no capital sentence could be passed upon him, in consequence of his life having been guaranteed by General Wilson, in a promise conveyed through Captain Hodson.

The prosecutor then put the question, through the interpreter, "guilty or not guilty?" which the prisoner either did not, or affected not to understand; and there was some difficulty in explaining it to him. He then declared himself profoundly ignorant of the nature of the charges against him, although a translated copy of them was furnished and read to him, in the presence of witnesses, some twenty days previous. After some more delay, the prisoner pleaded "not guilty," and the business of the court proceeded. A number of documents, of various descriptions, and of greater or lesser importance, were then read by the prosecutor; these had been translated into English, and consisted chiefly of petitions from all classes of natives to the "Shelter of the World;" they were very curious, some complaining of outrages committed by the sowars and sepoy in the city and suburbs, others bringing forward the delinquencies of his ex-majesty's offspring, who were accused of extorting money and property of all descriptions from the people. Others referred to the appointment of officers to the rebel army, and the disposal of liquor found in the magazine, but not whispered in Mohammedan circles; while some related to more important matters connected with the "new reign"—one and all concluding with a prayer that such reign should be as long as the world lasted. Most of these "state papers" bore the autograph orders and signature of the prisoner, written in pencil at the top, and were sworn to by competent witnesses, thereby affording conclusive proof of the active part taken by him in the rebellion.

The court was occupied the remainder of the day with these documents, during the reading of which the prisoner appeared to be dozing, or contemplating his son, who presented much the appearance of a Massalchee, as he stood by, occasionally laughing and conversing with the attendant. Neither one nor the other appeared to be much affected by their position, but, on the contrary, seemed to look upon the affair as one of the necessities of their destiny.

On the second day, the military commission resumed its sitting at 11 o'clock a.m. The court was mainly occupied in listening to petitions relating to occurrences of small importance, during the prisoner's brief reign; of most of which he pleaded entire ignorance, denied the signatures, and endeavoured, by voice and gesture, to impress the court with an idea of his innocence. Each paper, as it was read, was shown to the prisoner's vakel; and thus the business of the court proceeded up to about 1 o'clock p.m., when a document, translated into English, was read—apparently a remonstrance from one Nubbee Bux Khan to the prisoner, urging him to reject the request of the army for permission to massacre the European women and children confined in the palace. The writer submitted that such massacre would be contrary to the Mohammedan religion and law; and stated, that unless the army could procure a *futuwa*, it should not be put into execution. This document the government prosecutor informed the court, was the only one among the heap before him in which the spirit of mercy and kindness to Europeans could be traced; and it was remarkable, that it was one of the very few upon which the prisoner had not entered some remarks. Soon after the above-mentioned paper had been read, the prisoner, who had been for some time reclining in a lethargic state, commenced to groan and to complain of feeling unwell; and it soon became evident that the court must close its sitting. The prisoner was remonstrated with, through the interpreter, but he begged to be allowed to leave; and, at half-past one o'clock, the president adjourned the court until 11 a.m. on the 29th instant.

The trial of the ex-king commenced, on the third day, at the appointed hour. The prisoner was brought into court in a palanquin, attended by his vakel, Abbas, and two servants; Jamma Bukht having received a hint to remain in confinement, owing to the manner assumed by him during the first day's trial. Up to half-past twelve the court was occupied in having read to the prisoner the vernacular of the translations read to the court the day previous; a process not very interesting to the

prisoner, who up to this time had been sleeping. He was awake for the purpose, and appeared to listen attentively, making some remark at the conclusion of each, and indicating by signs during the reading, that he knew nothing whatever about them. He appeared in much better health and humour than on any of the previous days, and laughed in great spirits as each successive paper was taken up to be read, as if quite amused at there being so many.

Up to nearly half-past one o'clock on the fifth day, the court was occupied in reading documents in the vernacular; but when these had been disposed of, the translations of the military papers were read, and afforded considerable amusement to the court. These consisted chiefly of petitions, upon various subjects, from "The Lord Sahib, Mirza Mogul, commander-in-chief of the royal army," Bukht Khan Bahadoor, and other traitors. In some, the helpless state of the "infidels" was set forth in the most glowing terms, pointing out how, with very slight assistance and delay, they would be sent to a place even Mohammedan murderers are never to see; others pointing out how certain districts had been brought under the "royal rule," and treasure obtained by the revolt of those whose duty it was to guard its safety; while all were full of hatred to the "infidels," and unbounded love for the king. To most of these documents the prisoner's autograph orders and signature in pencil had been attached.

The sixth day's trial commenced at 11 a.m. of the 2nd of February. The early part of the day was occupied in reading original documents relating to military matters, the English versions of which were read the day previous: at the conclusion of which, the translation of a letter, dated the 24th of March, addressed to the late Mr. Colvin, lieutenant-governor, North-West Provinces, was read, disclosing the fact, that as far back as a year and a-half previous, secret emissaries were sent by the king of Delhi to Persia, through the agency of one Mahomed Hussun Uskeeree, the object of which was evidently to obtain assistance to complete the overthrow of British power in India. The perusal of the letter, which bore both the Delhi and Agra post-mark, excited considerable sensation in court, and led to a severe cross-examination, by the judge-advocate, of Ehsan-oolia Khan, the prisoner's hakeem, whose evidence partly corroborated the fact of the emissaries having been sent. The witness further stated, that Hussun Uskeeree was not unknown to him; that he was supposed to possess the art of foretelling events, interpreting dreams, &c.; and that one of the prisoner's daughters, named Nawab Baigam, had become a disciple of his, and was supposed to be his mistress. There was, however, a decided disinclination, on the part of the hakeem, to implicate the prisoner, the witness always endeavouring to absolve him from all knowledge of, or participation in, the acts deposed to. In one or two instances this was so apparent as to create a smile. When questioned as to the feeling displayed by the native inhabitants of Delhi regarding the war between England and Persia, the witness replied that the feeling was scarcely perceptible, but that it was in favour of the British; the Persians being Sheahs, and the Mohammedans of Persia Soonees. He further stated, that the Persian proclamation posted at the Jumma Musjid created little or no sensation, and that its genuineness was doubted. He said that the war between England and Persia was not the subject of conversation among the Mohammedans of Delhi, and that the prisoner had never mentioned it. The whole of his evidence tended to implicate, to a considerable extent, the Shah of Persia; and to lead the court to believe that the prisoner was entirely innocent of any complicity in the intrigues that were going on.

On the seventh day, the court commenced proceedings by the examination, through the interpreter, of a person named Jutmul, formerly news-writer to the lieutenant-governor at Agra. His evidence was most important; and, notwithstanding an apparent desire to criminate the prisoner as little as possible, was most damaging to the royal cause. The witness corroborated the statement regarding the emissaries from the prisoner to Persia, about the time the Persians advanced upon Herat; the time corresponding with that given by the hakeem the day previous. He also mentioned the firm belief of many in the powers possessed by Hussun Uskeeree, and related a remarkable dream of the prophet shortly before the mission left Delhi for Persia. It was thus related. Hussun Uskeeree saw a mighty black storm coming from the west, accompanied by a great rush of water, which increased to such an extent, that the whole country was overwhelmed. In the midst of this storm was the prisoner (the ex-king of Delhi), seated

and was the subject of much conversation during the time it lasted; and he concluded by stating some facts confided to him by John Bevere, a Christian rissalidar of the 14th irregular cavalry, from which it appeared, that the attempt to overthrow the British government was known to be in contemplation before the outrage commenced.

At the conclusion of Sir T. Metcalfe's evidence, the prisoner was asked if he would like to put any questions. He replied in the negative, but wished to know if the

Persons and Russians were the same people!

The court adjourned about 1 p.m., to allow time for the "wise man," Hussun

Uskeree, who had been sent for, to appear. On the court reassembling after an

absence of about half-an-hour, the southsayer appeared in court. He did not strike the

enchanted that led the king's daughter to become his "disciple."

Hussun Uskeree having been sworn and examined, denied all that had been said of

the wonderful powers attributed to him. He said that, whatever others might be

pleased to think of him, it was merely a matter of opinion, and that he was not at all

answerable for it. That he was an humble individual, content to live in peace without

troubling himself about dreams, whether of kings or peasants. He denied that he ever

had a dream of a great form from the west; in fact, he denied everything.

The prisoner was then referred to, and, notwithstanding his recorded statement of

his firm belief in the powers attributed to the witness, he denied all knowledge of him or

his powers. He was reminded of his statement made but a few days previous; but all

to no purpose: he completely ignored him; and Hussun Uskeree was returned to his

place of confinement, much to the disgust of those who expected some interesting revela-

tions from him.

The next witness called was Buktawur, a peon in the service of the late Captain

Douglas. His evidence chiefly related to the occurrences of the 11th of May, from the

first appearance of the mutinous troopers to the murder of Mr. Fraser, C.S., Captain

Douglas, Mr. Hutchinson, C.S., Mr. Jennings, and the ill-fated ladies of his family.

It appeared—and all the evidence on this point tended to confirm the sad tale—that

Captain Douglas, Mr. Hutchinson, and Mr. Nixon, were near the Calcutta gate, leading

to the bridge of boats, when four or five of the mutineers came up, and that the troopers

all fired upon the party, but that only Mr. Nixon was killed and Mr. Hutchinson

wounded. The Europeans jumped down from the road into the dry ditch surrounding

the palace, Captain Douglas being much hurt in his descent: they ran along the ditch,

and gained the gates of the palace, which they entered and closed. Mr. Fraser came

soon after, and was admitted; and, at one period of the attack, he appears to have seized

a musket from one of the sepoy at the gate, and shot one of the troopers, upon which

the others galloped off; but being reinforced by numbers, they soon became bolder. At

the suggestion of Mr. Jennings, Captain Douglas was taken up to his own apartments

above the gateway; and soon after this, a party of people from the palace came rushing

forward, shouting, "Deen! Deen!" (the Faith! the Faith!) and a crowd gathering,

they, headed by the native officer of the guard at the palace (a company of the 88th

light infantry), surrounded and murdered, in the most brutal manner, the whole party.

One mob went up one way to the hiding-place of the victims; another proceeded in

a different direction; so that none escaped. Meantime the work of destruction was going

on outside, other troopers having arrived; and it became necessary for every one to look

to his own safety: the witnesses (Hindoos) consequently left, and were unable to relate

anything further. Another witness was called, named Kishen, his statement being

much the same as that of the prisoner's witness, Buktawur. The evidence, so far as it

had gone, was conclusive on one point—viz., that the inmates of the palace assisted at the

murder of Messrs. Fraser, Jennings, Hutchinson, Captain Douglas, and the ladies; and,

while several witnesses affirmed that the prisoner tried to persuade Captain Douglas from

his intention of going among the mutineers, not one attempted to show that he exerted

his influence to check the disturbance at its commencement, or to save the Europeans at

his gate.

On the eleventh day, the court resumed, and was occupied the whole day with

the examination of a person named Chnee, formerly editor of a native paper, entitled

the *Delli News*. The witness gave some important evidence, and confirmed the

wife with a spear, they contrived to keep the ruffians at bay for some time, Mrs. Beresford killing one and wounding another. They were at length overpowered, and the whole party murdered. With them were, it was supposed, the Rev. Mr. Hubbard, and another missionary, who had gone to the Bank for safety. The house where they were all slaughtered still bore marks of the struggle.

The prisoner's hakeem, Ehsan-oolah Khan, was then called in, and examined on oath. His evidence always broke down when verging to a certain point—namely, criminalising the prisoner. He denied that he was in the prisoner's confidence, and said, that many important matters connected with the household were never mentioned to him, instancing, among other things, the prisoner's repudiation of his wife Taj Mahal, after having been regularly married to her. He admitted that the king's armed "servants" numbered about twelve hundred men; and, in reply to a question by the prosecutor, said that they had not been dismissed in consequence of the part taken by them in the death of Mr. Fraser, Captain Douglas, and the other Europeans murdered in the palace. Notwithstanding a severe cross-examination, it was plain to be seen that beyond mere generalities, nothing could be gained from the witness; and the court adjourned.

The prisoner was more lively than usual on this day; he declared his innocence of everything several times; and amused himself by twisting and untwisting a scarf round his head, and occasionally asking for a stimulant.

On the thirteenth day (Feb. 11th), the prisoner's hakeem was again examined; but his evidence was not of much moment, inasmuch as, notwithstanding the severe cross-examination to which he was subjected, his leaning to the prisoner was strikingly apparent. At the conclusion of the witness's evidence, Mrs. Aldwell was called, sworn, and examined by the judge-advocate. Her evidence consisted mainly of a narrative of his interredth escapes in Delhi, extending over a period of near five months' residence in the city—viz., from the day of the mutiny until the reoccupation of the city by the British troops. The main points were as follows:—The witness resided at Duryagunge; and on the arrival of the mutineers, the house where she lived was defended for some time by a few Europeans there assembled; who, failing at last in defending themselves, were captured; the witness, and some children only, escaping in the disguise of Mohammedans to the house of Mirza Abdoolah, a shahzadah, with whom she was previously acquainted. They were well received by the females of the shahzadah's family, and promised protection; but during the night of the 11th of May, they were sent to the house of the Mirza's mother-in-law, for greater security, and considered themselves safe. On Mrs. Aldwell, however, sending to the Mirza's house for some money and valuables left behind, Mirza Abdoolah sent word to say, that if any more messengers were sent to the house, the whole party should be murdered. They were subsequently brought before Mirza Mogul, and ordered for execution; but some sepoy took charge of them, and kept them in confinement. A tailor in Mrs. Aldwell's employ appears to have befriended the family throughout; and, through his influence with a sowar, she and her children appear to have been preserved. Herself and children were taught the kulmah; and, notwithstanding strong suspicions of their being Christians, they were all wonderfully preserved until the 9th of September, just before the assault, and proceeded in a bylee to Meerut. The witness gave some evidence upon interesting points connected with her sojourn in the city; among other things stating, that when in confinement, together with some twenty or thirty other women and children, the sepoys were in the habit of paying them visits; telling them they should all be cut into little pieces to feed the lites and crows! When their fellow-prisoners were sent for to be slaughtered, the order was given to "bring out the Christians," and leave the Mohammedans (meaning Mrs. Aldwell and her children) to be dealt with afterwards. The witness described this scene as heartrending; but the Mohammedan mutineers swore on the Koran, and the Hindus on the Gunga, that no harm should happen to them. They were then "massed together," and a rope passed round them (after the fashion at present in vogue when conducting rebels to their prison), and thus they were marched off to the place of execution. The witness said, in reply to a question put by the judge-advocate, that there were no disturbances between the Hindus and Mohammedans during the siege;

with a loud voice, that the prisoner had given his consent, and the slaughter accordingly commenced. The ex-king, at this stage of the proceedings, looked up at the court, and putting his forefinger into his mouth, made an Asiatic sign, which is interpreted as "plucking his tongue out" if he gave any such consent! The prisoner appeared perfectly indifferent to the presence of his private secretary, and to what he said; and, except on the occasion above noticed, made no remark or sign whatever.

The prisoner was brought into court as usual, on the fifteenth day, and took his position upon the charpoy assigned to him. With the exception of another shawl twisted round his head, his appearance was unaltered. Mukhun Tall was called into court, and his examination continued. He stated, in reply to a question put by the judge-advocate, that the late prime minister, Maibhoob Ali Khan, was the only person he knew of in the prisoner's entire confidence, and that he himself was never admitted to the royal secrets. That at the private conferences, Maibhoob Ali, Hussun Uskeeree, the begum (Zeenaat Mahal), and two of the prisoner's daughters, were generally present, and that by their counsel he was generally guided. He said that after the mutineers from Meerut, together with those cantoned at Delhi, had taken possession of the city, he did not remember any attempt being made to induce other regiments at distant stations to join them. And, in reply to a question by the judge-advocate, stated, that two days after the British troops had entered the city, or on the 16th of September, the prisoner went out with the mutineers as far as Khan Ali Khan's house (about 300 or 400 yards from the palace gates) in an open litter, for the purpose of encouraging them in driving the English out again; but that he very soon halted, and his brave army dispersed; or, in other words, came back faster than they went. The court and the prisoner's counsel declining to ask any questions, the witness was allowed to withdraw.

Captain Tytler (late 38th light infantry) was then called into court, and examined. After deposing to the fact of the arrival in cantonments of a dawk carriage, full of natives, the night previous to the mutiny, and to the occurrences on the morning of the 11th of May, Captain Tytler was questioned by the judge-advocate as to whether he had, prior to the mutiny, remarked anything which induced him to believe that his regiment was unfaithful. He replied in the negative, but said that he had since heard certain rumours, from which he inferred that there must have been some secret meetings among the men in cantonments; and a servant, a bearer of his, on taking leave to go to his home, a short time before the outbreak, remarked that he would return to the service if Captain Tytler's choola* still burnt bright! The prisoner was asked by the interpreter, what was the meaning of the above remark by the bearer? and he laughingly replied, that it meant nothing in particular; that the man who made it must have been some hungry fellow, who was always thinking of eating.

Sergeant Fleming, late Bazaar sergeant of Delhi, was then called into court, and, in reply to the judge-advocate (government prosecutor), said that he was Bazaar sergeant at the time of the outbreak. His son, a youth about nineteen years of age, was employed as a writer in the commissioner's office, and had been in the habit, for five or six years, of exercising the horses belonging to the prisoner's son, Jewan Bukht; for which service he received a monthly stipend. That some time in the latter end of April, his son went one morning to the house of Maibhoob Ali Khan, the prime minister, and there met Jewan Bukht; the latter commenced abusing him, declaring that the sight of a Kaffir Feringhee disturbed his serenity—spat in the youth's face, and desired him to leave. Young Fleming obeyed the order, and reported the conduct of Jewan Bukht to the late Mr. Fraser, who told him he was a fool, and should not notice such nonsense! On another occasion, early in May last, the witness's son went to Maibhoob's house to receive his pay; there he again met Jewan Bukht, who abused him in worse language than on the former occasion, and concluded by declaring that he would have his, young Fleming's, head off before many days passed over. "And," added the poor father, "he kept his word, for my son was killed on the 11th of May!"

The witness being allowed to withdraw, the judge-advocate informed the court that it would be necessary to adjourn for a few days, to allow papers to be translated, from which he expected important disclosures. The court was therefore adjourned *sine die*.

* Hearth still burning; meaning literally, "If you and your house continue in existence."

came into the city, and was given to understand that some sowars were on the bridge, and had murdered the sergeant at that place, and set his bungalow on fire. "The rebel sowars, after murdering the sergeant at the bridge, came below the lattice of the palace, and represented to his majesty that they had come to fight for the sake of 'Deen,' and that they required the gate to be opened for their entrance. The king sent information of this to the officer commanding the palace guard, who instantly went to the spot, and said to the sowars that they were scoundrels, and ordered them to go away. In reply, the sowars uttered their revenge on him.

"Mr. Fraser, on hearing of the massacre of the sergeant at the bridge, went to the Cashmere gate, and told the sepoy on the main-guard that some troops, who had acted disloyally at Meerut, had arrived; and that as they (the sepoy) were old servants of the government, he required their assistance to put down the mutineers. The sepoy replied, that they would have no objection to go against a foreign enemy; but, in the present instance, they would not act. At this time, Jewala Sing, jemadar of the commissioner, informed Mr. Fraser that all the Mussulmans of the city were inclined to rebellion, and requested him to go out of the city immediately; but he replied that he would never do so. The shops of the city were all closed. The Rev. Mr. Jennings, and another European, went on the palace guard tower, to inspect the mutineers by the help of a telescope.

"The officer commanding the palace guard, after speaking to the mutineers under the lattice of the palace, went in a buggy to Mr. Fraser, who was at the Calcutta gate—took a letter out of his pocket, and handed it over to him for perusal. The orderly sowars of the commissioner were ordered to be very cautious.

"The Mussulmans of the Khanumka Bazaar went to the Rajghat gate, made some conditions with the rebel sowars, and opened the gate for them. The sowars having thus found their entrance into the city, commenced murdering the Europeans; and after they had murdered some of them at Duryagunge, and burnt their houses, they came to the hospital, and killed the sub-assistant surgeon, Chummun Lall. The Mussulmans of the city informed them that the Commissioner Sahib was on the Calcutta gate. They accordingly galloped there, and fired a number of pistols and muskets at him, but without effect: however, two other European gentlemen were shot on this occasion. The orderly sowars of the commissioner, who were all Mussulmans, made no attempt to oppose the mutineers; but the commissioner himself, taking the musket of a sowar, wounded one of them, and instantly getting in his buggy along with the officer commanding the palace guard, fled towards the palace gate: the latter reached his residence at the top of the palace guard, but Mr. Fraser was attacked and killed on the stairs. The mutinous sowars, after that, went to the residence of the killadar—massacred him, the Rev. Mr. Jennings and daughter, and another European. The Mussulmans of the city plundered all the property found in the houses of the officer commanding the palace guard, and other European residents in the city.

"Sir T. Metcalfe left the city by the Ajmere gate on horseback, with a drawn sword in his hand: some rebel sowars pursued him as far as Bazaar Chaoee, but were unable to catch him. The moochees, saddlers, and shoemakers at the Ajmere gate also took their cudgels, and wished to catch and kill him, but were not successful. "The three regiments of native infantry, stationed at Delhi, joined the mutineers; and after killing a few of their European officers, entered the city, and murdered all the Christians—men, women, and children—they could find in the houses and bungalows at Duryagunge, Cashmere gate, and Colonel Skinner's kothee.

"The Mussulmans of the city, and even some of the Hindoos, joined the mutineers, and destroyed all the Thadhas and the Khotwallee. They then attacked the Bank, and tried to murder the two gentlemen, three ladies, and two children, who were sitting there; but as the Europeans had their pistols loaded, the mutineers did not venture to come near them. A Mussulman got on a tree, but was shot by them. The mutineers then set the Bank house on fire; and the Europeans, having no means of escape, were overpowered and killed by the rebel sowars and Mussulmans with cudgels.

"The Mussulmans followed the mutineers everywhere with shouts of '*Hyderee*!' (usually exclaimed on a victory). All the money in the government treasury was shared by the sepoy of the three regiments of native infantry stationed at Delhi. The Magistrate's,

to town in the city, that should any sepoy be caught plundering any inhabitant, his nose and ears should be cut off; and that if any shopkeeper would not open his shop, or declined to provide the sepoys with food, he would be imprisoned and fined. Taj Mahal Begum, who was in confinement, was released. Two Europeans, disguised in native dress, were arrested and killed by the rebel sowars near the Khotwallee. "The king, attended by two regiments of infantry and a few guns, went out on an elephant, with Mirza Jewan Bukht behind him, into the city, for the purpose of having the bazaar opened. He went as far as Chandnee Chouk, and requested the shopkeepers to open their shops and provide the troops with supplies. Hasun Alee Khan was introduced by Hakeem Ahmunnollah Khan. He presented a gold mohur as nuzzur to the king, who ordered him to wait, as he had to consult with him.

"A shawl, for the office of khotwal of the city, was conferred on Mirza Mosen-ood-deen Hasun Khan, who returned thanks with a nuzzur of four rupees.

"13th May, 1857.—Nawab Maibhoob Ali Khan and other chiefs attended the durbar, and paid their respects. Nazir Hasun Mirza was ordered to bring Mirza Ameen-ood-deen Khan; accordingly he went out for that purpose. On his return, he informed the king that the Mirza was indisposed, and therefore could not present himself in the durbar. Ordered that Khotwal Mosen-ood-deen Khan be informed, that the troops were unable to get supplies, therefore he must provide for them. Hasun Alee Khan, attending the king, told him that the troops were already assembled in the palace, and he wanted his advice on the subject. The said Khan remarked that the troops were bloody ones; they had murdered their own officers, and it was not prudent to repose any confidence in them. Shah Nizam-ood-deen, the son of the king's spiritual guide, and Bood-him Sahib, son of the late Nawab Molehmed Meer Khan, were taken into the council. Mirza Mlogul Beg, Mirza Khedur Soofian, and Mirza Abdoolah, were made colonels of the regiments of infantry, and ordered to take with each of them two guns, and adopt measures to protect the Cashmere, Lahore, and Delhi gates. Shah Nizam-ood-deen represented, that some Toork sowars having arrested Nawab Hamud Alee Khan, upon an accusation of his concealing some Englishmen in his house, had brought him on foot to the jewel office, before Nawab Maibhoob Ali Khan, and that the said nawab declared he had no Europeans in his house. The king requested him (Shah Nizam-ood-deen) to go with the sowars and sepoys, and let them search the house of the nawab. Accordingly, he and Mirza Abboo Bekr went out for that purpose; but finding no Europeans in the house, they obliged the troops to give back the property they had plundered him of, and set him at liberty. Mirza Abboo Bekr was made colonel in the light cavalry.

"Information was received by the sowars, that twenty-nine Europeans—men, women, and children—were concealed in the house of Rajah Kullian Sing, of Krishnaghur. Accordingly they went there; and having caught the Christians, shot them all by a volley of their muskets. After that they went to the house of the late Colonel Skinner; and having arrested the son of the late Mr. Joseph Skinner, brought him before the Khotwallee, and murdered him there. They also, at the instigation of some person, plundered the houses of Naim Doss (banker) and Ramasurn Doss (deputy-collector), under the pretence of their concealing some Europeans in their houses. Kazees Nubboo and his son were killed by the rebel sepoys and sowars. Two Europeans, disguised in native dress, were massacred by the mutineers near the Budur Row gate. The king gave 100 rupees to each of the regiments, for their support. It was notified in the city by Mosen-ood-deen Hasun Khan, khotwal, that all persons wishing to serve his majesty should present themselves with their arms; and that if any person should be found to have concealed in his house any Europeans, he would be punished as guilty. Nawab Hamud Alee Khan and Walleedad Khan, of Malaghur, attended the durbar, and made their obeisance. His majesty ordered them to present themselves daily in the durbar. The head bunyas were sent for, and ordered to settle the rate of corn, and have the granaries opened, that it might be sold for the sepoys. Mirza Mosen-ood-deen Hasun Khan, khotwal, having engaged 200 burkundazes, stationed them at Cureeba and Tall Koor for robbing. Kahay Khan, Surturaz Khan, and many other vagabonds of the city, were also apprehended. Several men were arrested for plundering Subzee Mundees and Taleewarah.

were sent to present himself soon. Information was received that the collector of Rohituck had left his post; that the treasure of that place was being plundered; and that at Goorgoon it was already carried off. The king ordered one regiment of infantry and some sowars to be sent to Rohituck to fetch the treasure. Abdool Ilakem was ordered to entertain 400 Khassabudars at five rupees a-month each, and a regiment of sowars at twenty rupees a-month. Accordingly, 200 men were employed. Abdool Kadur, chatrawallah, showed some papers to his majesty, and said that he would be able to make all arrangements they referred to. A letter was issued to the rissaldar of the cavalry, stating that Mirza Abboo Bekr was discharged from the office of commandant of cavalry, and that therefore they (the cavalry men) should act according to the orders of the king. Kazez Lyszoolah presented a rupee in nuzzur, and applied for the office of the Khottawallee of the city, and was accordingly appointed to that situation. A goldsmith, who had killed another goldsmith, was arrested and brought before the king. The Alewattees of Jaysingpoorah having plundered 4,000 rupees in cash, and all the property in the house of a European of the railway company, the sowars hearing of it, resolved to plunder and blow up Jaysingpoorah, and to apprehend all the Alewattees there; but Lalla Boodh Sing, vakeel of the rajah of Jaysingpoorah, applied for the protection of the inhabitants of that place; and the king ordered that no sepoy be allowed to go there without his majesty's permission.

"It being reported that the sowars and sowars were in the habit of haunting the city with drawn swords, and that the shopkeepers were afraid to open their shops, the king sent orders to the gates of the palace not to allow any sepoy to go about in the city with a drawn sword. The rissaldar of the nawab of Jhujjurs troops was ordered to pitch his tent at the Alahab Bagh. Information was received that fourteen boats, laden with wheat, &c., were in the ghaut of Kamjee Dass's, goorwallah. Orders were sent to Dilwadee Mull, to take away the wheat for the use of the troops. Two sowars, who had plundered 2,000 rupees from the Delhi bank, and deposited the same with Kamjee Dass, goorwallah, to be paid back at Lucknow, quarrelled between themselves; and the fact of their depositing the money being known to other sowars, a company of an infantry regiment went to the house of the said Kamjee Dass, and obliged him to deliver the money to them. A letter was addressed to the bankers of the city, requiring their presence in the durbar. Rebel sowars and sowars attended on the king, and complained that they had not as yet been allowed their clothing expenses, and that it appeared to them, that Ilakem Ahmunnoolah Khan and Nawab Alaihoob Ali Khan were in collusion with the British. After that they went to the house of Lall Khan, and accused Shah Nizam-ood-deen Peerzadah of concealing two European ladies in his house. Peerzadah required them to bring forward their informant; and they produced a man, who said he had only heard so. Peerzadah represented that he had not concealed any European ladies in his house; but if they wished to plunder and kill him on that pretence, they had the power to do so. Nawab Alaihoob Ali Khan took his oath on the holy Koran that he had no confederacy with the English. The mutineers plundered all the property in the house of Aga Ahmunnoolah Hissunjan Khan, the Cabool name of Mohun Lall. Captain Dildar Alee Khan, Kujub Alee Khan, and other chiefs, attended on the king, and made their obeisance. Rebel sowars and sowars, with their officers, attended the durbar, and produced a letter, which they said they had intercepted at the Delhi gate. It had on it the seals of Ilakem Ahmunnoolah Khan and Nawab Alaihoob Ali Khan. In this letter they said that the Ilakem and nawab had requested the English to come immediately, take possession of the city, and nominate Mirza Jewan Bukht (son of the king by Zeenat Mahal Begum) as heir-apparent, and that they, the Ilakem and nawab, would arrest and deliver to them all the mutineers in the city and palace. Nawab Alaihoob Ali Khan and Ilakem Ahmunnoolah Khan inspected the letter, denied their writing it, and asserted that it was a trick of some person, and that the seals were forged by means of 'sart khurree' (a kind of stone); they took out their own seals, and threw them before the rebel troops; pointed out the difference between them and those on the letter; and took their oaths on the holy Koran, that the letter was not written by them; but still the mutineers did not believe them. A person came and reported that some Europeans were concealed in the drain of the canal: accordingly, Mirza Abboo Bekr, attended by

obtain the money. Mohammed Bekr (editor of the *Oudoo Akbar*), with two companies of infantry and cavalry, was sent to oppose the Gojurs and Mewattees, and bring the treasure under their protection. The sepoy apprehended a furash, servant of Mirza Mogul Beg, upon a charge of his giving information to the English; but he was released by the orders of Mirza Mogul Beg. A man came and reported that the Mewattees at Jarsingpore were wounded in plundering the property of a European at the railway; and it was found out that these Mewattees were lately in the service of the British zemindars of Luckhoolee: they attended on the king, presented a rupee each, and said that they were followers of his majesty. The king ordered them to keep peace in their district, otherwise their village would be burnt. Two kossids, who were sent to Meerut for news, returned and said, that about 1,000 European soldiers, and some gentlemen, ladies, and children, had assembled at the cantonment Suddur Bazar, prepared a dunn-dunah on the Sooraj Kood, and mounted an Elephant battery over it, and that the roads from Meerut to Sahajpore had been infested by Gojurs, who plundered every one within their grasp, and that they (the kossids) were well beaten and plundered by the Gojurs. His majesty ordered two companies of sepoy to be posted at the bridge for the protection of the passengers.

"Hakeem Abdoel Hing attended on the king, and presented five rupees. Five companies of the sappers and miners, who had arrived at Meerut from Roorkes, were requested by the English to stop there and discharge their duties; but the sepoys refused to do so, and therefore had a fight with the European soldiers at Meerut; many were killed, and those who escaped came to Delhi. Shookkas, addressed to Maharajah Nurnandur Sing, rajah of Puteela, Rajah Ram Sing, of Jeyoor, and rajahs of Uluw, Joudpoor, and Kotah Boondee, ordering them to present themselves immediately before his majesty, were dispatched to them by sowars. The verandah of Deewan Kishien Lall's house fell down, and two boys were killed under it. Information was received that the troops at Umballah had mutinied, and were on their way to Delhi.

"18th May, 1857.—The bands of the five infantry regiments attended on his majesty, and played. Khehurs, each consisting of a garment of kinkharb, shawls, goshwara, turban, nosegay of silver and gold threads, sword and shield, were conferred on Mirza Mogul, for the office of general of the army; and on Mirza Kockuck, Mirza Abdur Soorian, and Mirza Mayadho, for that of the colonel of the infantry regiments. A like khelut was granted to Mirza Abdo Bekr, for the colonelship of the light cavalry. Muzurs were presented—viz., by Mirza Mogul Beg, two gold mohurs; and other princes, one gold mohur and five rupees each. Haseen Alee Khan attended the durbar, and paid his respects to the king. He was ordered to attend daily and enlist troops; and a large portion of the country, the king said, should be granted to him. The khan replied that he should not be able to enlist troops; but he would wait on his majesty daily. Two sowars, who were sent with a shookka to Lhwar, returned, and said that several thousand Gojurs had infested the roads to rob and plunder the passengers; and that they (the sowars) had been plundered of everything they had, and were allowed to return only by having on these Gojurs; the letter they had was torn, and the pieces returned. A camel sowar, who was sent to the hawab of Furrucknagar with a shookka, returned, and said that the Gojurs on the roads would not allow him to proceed. The officers of the five companies of the sappers and miners attended the durbar, and represented, that on their arrival at Meerut, from Roorkes, they were quartered near the Duna-Dunah, in which all the European soldiers, gentlemen, women, and children, had collected, and by promises of great rewards and higher pay, tried to coax them to remain in their service; but when three-quarters of the night had passed, they fired grape on them, and killed about two hundred men; the remainder of the sepoys then ran away, and they now presented themselves for the service of his majesty. They were ordered to pitch their tents at Selimgur. Nawab Meibhoo Ali Khan prepared a list of the bankers of Delhi, and sent it by his own agent to Ramjee Dass, goornwallah, Ramjee Mull, soornwallah, and Selimgur, treasurer, with orders to collect from the bankers five lacs of rupees for the expenses of the troops, which he said amounted to 2,500 rupees a-day. The said bankers waited on Nawab Meibhoo Ali Khan, and pointed out their inability to pay the amount: they said that they had been plundered of all their cash and property by the mutineers. Ramjee Dass requested the nawab to levy the money

By the time these documents were read, it was 4 p.m., and the court adjourned until 11 a.m. of the 24th of February.

On the seventeenth day (Feb. 24th), the court assembled at 11 a.m., when the proclamation of the Bareilly traitor, Khan Bahadoor Khan, was read in the original, for the benefit of the prisoner; after which the translation was read by the judge-advocate, for the benefit of the court. The following is the literal translation:—

"Proclamation.—Now, all rajahs, bestowers of favours and protectors of religion, be prepared to defend your faith and that of those under you. For the hope of your success I appeal to you. The great God has given you all mortal bodies for the defence of your religion, as is well known to all. For the destruction of the destroyers of religion he has given birth and power to all princes. It is needful, therefore, that all who have the power should slay the destroyers of religion, and that those who have not that power should reflect and devise means to defend their religion. It being written in the Shasters, that it is better to die for one's religion than to adopt another. This is the saying of God.

"It is manifest to all that these English are the enemies of all religions; and it should be well considered, that for a long time they have caused the preparation and distribution by their priests, of books for the overthrow of religion in Hindoostan, and have introduced many persons for that purpose. This has been clearly ascertained from their own people. See, then, what measures they have devised for the overthrow of religion.

"1st. That women becoming widows shall be allowed to marry again. 2nd. They have abolished the ancient and sacred rite of Suttee. 3rd. They have proclaimed that all men shall adopt their religion, going to their churches to join in prayer, for which they are promised honours and dignities from the British government. They have further forbidden that no adopted children shall succeed to the titles of the rajahs of the land; while in our Shasters it is so written, that ten kinds of successors are allowed. In this manner will they eventually deprive you of all your possessions, as they have done those of Nagpoor and Oude. To destroy the religion of prisoners even, they have caused them to be fed with food prepared after their own fashion. Many have died rather than eat of this food; but many have eaten, and thus lost their religion.

"Having discovered that this did not succeed, the English caused bones to be ground and mixed with the flour and with flesh, to be secretly mixed with the rice sold in the bazars, besides many other devices for destroying religion. These, they were told by a Bengalee, would certainly succeed with their army; and, after that, all men would believe. The English rejoiced greatly at this, not seeing in it their own destruction. They then ordered the Brahmin sepoy of their army to bite cartridges prepared with animal grease. This would have only hurt the religion of the Brahmins; but the Mussulman sepoy, hearing of it, refused to use such cartridges. The English then prepared to force all men to use them, and the men of the regiments who refused were blown away from guns.

"Seeing this tyranny and oppression, the sepoys, in defence of their lives and religion, commenced to slay the English, and killed them wherever they could find them. They are even now contemplating the extermination of the few who remain. From all this, it must be known to you, that if the English are allowed to remain in Hindoostan, they will kill every one, destroying all religions. However, certain people of this country are fighting on the side of the English, and assisting them. I ask of these—how can you preserve your religion? Is it not better that you should slay the English and be with us, by which our religions and this country will be saved? For the protection of the religions of Hindoos and Mussulmans, this is printed. Let the Hindoos swear on the Ganges, and on Toolsie Saligram, and the Mohammedans on the holy Koran, that all shall unite and destroy the English, who are the enemies of their religion.

"As it is of importance to the Hindoo religion, that the slaughter of cows should not be permitted, all the Mohammedan princes of India have made a solemn promise, that if the Hindoos will join with them in the destruction of the English, the slaying of cows shall at once be stopped, and the eating of the flesh of the cow shall, to Mohammedans, be forbidden as that of the pig. If, however, the Hindoos do not assist in destroying the English, they shall themselves be made to eat the flesh of the cow. It may be, perhaps, that the English, in order to prevail on the Hindoos to assist them, will make a

replied to a question put by the judge-advocate, that he had heard the men of his regiment converse among themselves about the clupatties which were circulated, but they did not appear to understand why they were distributed. After the first fight (at the Hindun, or Ghazee-oo-deen-nugur), the prisoner gave out that he thought his troops (the mutineers) were disheartened, and reminded them that if the British once more set foot in Delhi, they would not leave one of the house of Timur alive. With the exception of what the witness had stated to the court, he does not remember anything occurring in the regiment indicative of a spirit of disaffection. The witness was then allowed to withdraw, and his statement was read by the interpreter, for the benefit of the prisoner and his counsel. Some documentary evidence was then produced, and the court adjourned till Wednesday, the 3rd of March, to allow the interpreter time to translate other documents necessary to the proceedings.

The following is the translation of a proclamation issued by the king of Delhi, on the 26th of August, 1857, and produced during the trial:—

"Seal of Bahadur Shah Ghazee, Mahammad Dara Bukht, Wali Nizam Khalaq, Mirza Karim Ul Syah Bahadur.—It is well known to all, that in this age the people of Hindoostan, both Hindoos and Mohomedans, are being ruined under the tyranny and oppression of the infidel and treacherous English. It is, therefore, the bounden duty of all the wealthy people of India, especially of those who have any sort of connection with any of the Mohammedan royal families, and are considered the pastors and masters of their people, to stake their lives and property for the well-being of the public. With the view of effecting this general good, several princes belonging to the royal family of Delhi, have dispersed themselves in the different parts of India, Iran, Turan, and Afghanistan, and have been long since taking measures to compass their favourite end; and it is to accomplish this charitable object, that one of the aforesaid princes has, at the head of an army of Afghanistan, &c., made his appearance in India; and I, who am the grandson of Abul Muzaffer Sarajuddin Bahadur Shah Ghazee, king of India, having in the course of circuit come here, to extirpate the infidels residing in the eastern part of the country, and to liberate and protect the poor helpless people now groaning under their iron rule, have, by the aid of the Mahadeen or religious fanatics, erected the standard of Mohammed, and persuaded the orthodox Hindoos, who had been subject to my ancestors, and have been, and are still, accessories in the destruction of the English, to raise the standard of

"Several of the Hindoo and Mussulman chiefs, who have long since quitted their homes for the preservation of their religion, and have been trying their best to root out the English in India, have presented themselves to me, and taken part in the reigning Indian crusade; and it is more than probable that I shall very shortly receive succours from the west. Therefore, for the information of the public, the present Ishthar, consisting of several sections, is put in circulation; and it is the imperative duty of all to take it into their careful consideration, and abide by it. Parties anxious to participate in the common cause, but having no means to provide for themselves, shall receive their daily subsistence from me; and be it known to all, that the ancient works, both of the Hindoos and Mohomedans, the writings of the miracle-workers, and the calculations of the astrologers, pundits, and ramanals, all agree in asserting that the English will no longer have any footing in India or elsewhere. Therefore it is incumbent on all to give up the hope of the continuation of the British sway, side with me, and deserve the consideration of the Badshahi or imperial government, by their individual exertion in promoting the common good, and thus attain their respective ends; otherwise, if this golden opportunity ships away, they will have to repent of their folly: as is very aptly said by a poet in two fine couplets, the drift whereof is—'Never let a favourable opportunity slip; for, in the field of opportunity, you are to meet with the ball of fortune; but if you do not avail yourself of the opportunity that offers itself, you will have to bite your finger through grief.'"

"No person, at the misrepresentation of the well-wishers of the British government, ought to conclude, from the present slight inconveniences usually attendant on revolutionary, that similar inconveniences and troubles should continue when the Badshahi government is established on a firm basis; and parties badly dealt with by any sepoj or plunderer, should come up and represent their grievances to me, and receive redress at

If they, for any reasons, cannot at present declare openly against the English, they can heartily wish ill to their cause, and remain passive spectators of the passing events, without taking any active share therein. But, at the same time, they should indirectly assist the Badshahi government, and try their best to drive the English out of the country. All the scops and sowars who have, for the sake of their religion, joined in the destruction of the English, and are at present, on any consideration, in a state of concealment either at home or elsewhere, should present themselves to me without the least delay or hesitation. Foot soldiers will be paid at the rate of three annas, and sowars at eight or twelve annas per diem for the present, and afterwards they will be paid double of what they get in the British service. Soldiers not in the English service, and taking part in the war against the English, will receive their daily subsistence money, according to the rates specified below, for the present; and, in future, the foot soldiers will be paid at the rate of eight or ten rupees, and sowars at the rate of twenty or thirty rupees per month; and on the permanent establishment of the Badshahi government, will stand entitled to the highest posts in the state, to jagheers, and presents:—"Matchlock-men, per day, two annas; riflemen, two-and-a-half; swordsmen, one-and-a-half; horse-men, with large horses, eight; horsemen, with small horses, six—annas a-day."

"Section 4.—Regarding Artisans.—It is evident that the Europeans, by the introduction of the English articles into India, have thrown the weavers, the cotton dressers, the carpenters, the blacksmiths, and the shoemakers, &c., out of employ, and have engrossed their occupations, so that every description of native artisans has been reduced to beggary. But under the Badshahi government, the native artisans will exclusively be employed in the services of the kings, the rajahs, and the rich; and this will no doubt ensure their prosperity. Therefore those artisans ought to renounce the English services, and assist the Majahideens or religious fanatics engaged in the war, and thus be entitled both to secular and eternal happiness."

"Section 5.—Regarding Pundits, Fakirs, and other Learned Persons.—The pundits and fakirs, being the guardians of the Hindoo and Mohammedan religions respectively, and the Europeans being the enemies of both the religions, and, as at present a war is raging against the English on account of religion, the pundits and fakirs are bound to present themselves to me, and take their share in the holy war; otherwise they will stand condemned, according to the tenor of the Shurah and the Shasters; but if they come, they will, when the Badshahi government is well established, receive rent-free lands."

"Lastly, be it known to all, that whoever, out of the above-named classes, shall, after the circulation of this Istahar, still cling to the British government, all his estates shall be confiscated and property plundered, and he himself, with his whole family, shall be imprisoned, and ultimately put to death.—Interior of the Azimgur district. The 16th Mohurrum 1275 Hijri, corresponding with Bhadobady 1265 Fussy."

On the 3rd of March, the court assembled for the nineteenth time, for further evidence, and again adjourned until the 9th of that month; when the vakeel of the prisoner declared, in the name of his royal master, that he did not recognise the authority of the tribunal before which he had been brought, and therefore declined to make answer to any charges brought against him. The public prosecutor then summed up the whole of the evidence adduced; by which it was proved, that, in defiance of existing treaties, the prisoner had assumed the powers of independent sovereignty, and levied war against the British government; and, moreover, that the murders of the Europeans in Delhi were perpetrated with the sanction, if not by the positive orders of the king, in the presence of his sons the princes, and other individuals connected with the royal house, and by the instrumentality of the Khassboudars of his own special body-guard. The court, after a short deliberation, adjudged the prisoner, Mirza Aboo Zulfur, alias Mahomed Suraj-oo-deen Shah Ghazee, guilty of all the charges alleged against him; whereby he became liable to the penalty of death, as a traitor and murderer: but, in consequence of the assurance given to him by Captain Hodson, previous to his capitulation on the 21st of September, 1857, the court, by virtue of the authority vested in it by Act XIV., of 1857, sentenced him to be transported for life to the Andaman Islands, or to such other place as should be selected by the governor-general in council for his place of banishment.

by half-past 3 A.M. they were clear of the city. In camp, the principal prisoner and his two sons occupy a hill tent. A soldier's tent, with kunnant enclosure, is provided for the ladies of the zenana, and two others for the servants; the whole surrounded by a high kunnant enclosure. The prisoners are securely guarded by dismounted lancers, armed with swords and pistols, both inside and outside the enclosure; while pickets from the police battalion are thrown out beyond. The horses of the lancers—a whole troop, actually on duty over the state prisoners—are kept ready saddled; and the enclosed camp is very judiciously pitched between the lancers and Kaye's troop of horse artillery. Lieutenant Ommanney's tent is pitched just outside the enclosure. By all accounts the prisoners are cheerful; and the females may be heard talking and laughing behind their screens, as if they did not much regret their departure from Delhi."

On the 14th of October, the escort had reached Allyghur with its charge in safety; on the 16th, it arrived at Secundra Rao; and, on the 2nd of November, it entered Cawnpore, without any effort whatever, on the part of the rebels yet in arms, to disturb the progress of the march, which, after a short halt, was continued to Allahabad, where the ex-king, with his family and attendants, were transferred to a river flat, for conveyance to Calcutta.

Upon the arrival of the flat at Diamond Harbour, Calcutta, on the 4th of December, her majesty's steam-ship *Megara*, which had recently arrived from the Cape with troops, was found in readiness to receive the royal prisoner, for the purpose of conveying him to his final destination. The whole of the party who had accompanied the fallen majesty of Delhi were now embarked with him, to share his exile, and, by their sympathy, alleviate his punishment; but little feeling was manifested by any of them at the terrible calamity that had fallen upon their house. With true Moslem submission to the fate ordained for them, they even appeared cheerful; and, in the words of an officer of the escort, "were in as good spirits as if they were going on a pleasure excursion." Their actual destination still remained a state secret; but it was believed the governor of the Cape would be charged with the custody of the aged prisoner. The embarkation was conducted without the slightest display of feeling or demonstration of public curiosity: and thus the descendant of the victorious and magnificent Timur, was expatriated from the soil on which the throne of his mighty ancestors had stood, until torrents of English blood, wantonly poured out by their degenerate descendant, washed it from its foundations. A letter from Calcutta, of the 4th of December, gives the following detail of incidents connected with the final removal of the ex-king:—"On the 4th of December, at ten in the morning, the ex-king of Delhi, conveyed in the *Soorma* flat, in tow of the *Koyle* steamer, was taken on board her majesty's good ship of war, the *Megara*, which, for a vessel of the royal navy, presented a curious spectacle at the time, crowded as her main deck was with household furniture, live and lifeless stock in the shape of cattle, goats, rabbits, poultry, rice, peas, chattus innumerable, &c., &c., brought by the royal prisoner and his attendants, for their consumption and comfort. The flat was lugged alongside the gangway of the ship, so that the Delhi gentleman could step on board. Lieutenant Ommanney, of the 59th, who has had charge of him ever since he was taken, conducted him to this, probably the last, conveyance that will ever again serve him in his peregrinations. He had two wives with him, so impenetrably veiled that they were led below by guides. He looked utterly broken up, and in his dotage; but not a bad type of Eastern face and manner—something king-like about his deeply furrowed countenance, and lots of robes and Cashmeres. He was quite self-possessed, and was heard to ask some of the officers what their respective positions were on board, &c. A son and a grandson are with him: and their very first care on touching the deck with their feet, was to ask for cheroots—took things easily, in short. The ex-king, meanwhile, went below, and was said to have stretched himself forthwith upon a couch of pillows and cushions, which his folk had arranged for him in a twinkling. The whole operation of transferring him and his from the flat was quickly effected; and then the guard of the 84th regiment returned to Calcutta, while the *Megara* steamed away down the Hooghly for its destination."

The next intelligence that reached the English public, in reference to the royal prisoner, was by an announcement from Bombay, dated the 11th of January, 1859, which stated—"The ex-king of Delhi has been sent to Rangoon, in British Burmah, instead of

of the empire of his ancestors, may have suggested to the prince, Aboo Zuffur, the expediency of strengthening his hands for the possible contingency, by an alliance with a noble whose aid would, in such case, be of the first importance, through the exercise of his influence throughout the Mohammedan states of India. The Princess Zeenat, then in her sixteenth year, was therefore demanded in marriage of the rajah, her father, and was shortly afterwards conveyed, with great pomp, from the fort-palace of the Bhatneer capital to the imperial residence at Delhi. At this juncture the heir-apparent was in his sixtieth year; but the disparity of years appears to have been at all times a question of small significance when the selection of an inmate for a royal zenana was concerned; and the honour of an alliance with the imperial house of Timur was of itself sufficient to counterbalance any objection that might be supposed likely to arise on the part of the young lady or her sire, both of whom were flattered by the prospect thus opened to the ambition of the one, and the girlish aspirations of the other. In due accordance with Oriental ceremony, the youthful princess was speedily introduced to the sexagenarian ruler of her destiny, who at once expressed his admiration of her beauty and vivacity, and designated her Mahal (the Pearl), which name she has thenceforth borne. The royal nuptials were celebrated in 1833; and Zeenat Mahal, the youngest, became also the most beloved of the wives of the future king of Delhi.

A short time after the celebration of the marriage, the father of Zeenat Mahal became an inmate of the palace of the Cootub, the residence of the heir-apparent; and the influence from which so much was expected by his son-in-law, was actively but imperceptibly employed on his behalf. The emperor, Shah Akber, in 1837, was gathered to his fathers; and Mirza Aboo Zuffur, then in his sixty-fourth year, ascended the crystal throne of Delhi.

The tact and assiduities of Zeenat Mahal had by this time riveted the affection which her youth and beauty had first inspired: she had also added the claims of a mother to the attractions of a wife; and the sovereign of Hindoostan, in his old age, became the progenitor of a line of princes, of whom Jumma Bukht, the youngest (born in 1840), is now the only survivor and participator in the misfortunes of his house.

Superior to the petty intrigues and female dissensions of the zenana, the begum, Zeenat Mahal, still maintained a firm hold upon the affections of her aged husband; and, by her prudence, became at last a necessary assistant at his councils, and the confidant of his ambitious but well-concealed designs against the supremacy of the infidel government by which he was held in thrall, and whose domination was a source of undisguised hatred and impatience to all the Mohammedan races of India. With such feelings, it may be supposed, there was no lack of grievances, real or imaginary, to keep a dissatisfied spirit in restless activity within the royal precincts. Among other incentives to discontent was a difficulty that arose respecting the succession to the musnud, which, considering the advanced age of Suraj-oo-deen, became a question of importance, and eventually of much annoyance to the king and his still young and favourite wife. The royal succession had furnished a topic for discussion within the palace, and intrigue without it, from the year 1853; the king having then, as it is alleged, at the instigation of his wife, expressed his desire to name the child of his old age, Mirza Jumma Bukht, heir to the throne; while the government of the Company insisted on recognising the superior, because prior, claim of an elder son, Mirza Furruk-oo-deen. The contention to which this rivalry of interests gave birth, raged with great virulence until 1856, when the elder son suddenly died of cholera, or poison; the latter being a prevalent idea at the time. This opportune removal had not, however, the effect of settling the question, as there were still elder brothers of Jumma Bukht in existence, whose prior right to the succession was recognised by the Anglo-Indian government; while the mother of the latter still persisted in her efforts to obtain the reversion to the musnud for her own son, and declared she would not rest until her object was accomplished. When at length it was formally announced, by the resident at the court of Delhi, that his government had determined that the son of the deceased Prince Furruk-oo-deen, and grandson of the king, should inherit all that yet remained of imperial power at Delhi, as the heir in a direct line of the existing sovereign, the hostility of the begum to British influence became intense; and it thenceforward was a question among her partisans and the personal attendants of the king, whether, by overturning the English *raj*, she might not

kept in close confinement in his desecrated palace, he was put upon his trial, as before stated, and, on the nineteenth day of the proceedings, was declared guilty of the offences charged against him, and sentenced to be transported for life.

The youngest son of the prisoner, Jumma Bukht, whose boyish levity on the first day of his father's trial had excited the displeasure of the court, and deprived him of the miserable comfort of attending to his father's convenience during the remainder of the proceedings, appears to have been the only one of the princes of the royal house who was not, in a greater or less degree, implicated in the sanguinary occurrences of the rebellion. This prince, the youngest and most favoured son of the king, by Zeenat Mahal, was consequently looked upon with some degree of commiseration by the government authorities, and, for some time, was treated with indulgent consideration, as well on account of his youth as of his innocence from blame. This conduct at length awakened a sort of jealous feeling among the Europeans in Delhi; who, in their eagerness for retributive justice, fancied, in the attentions shown to the innocent son, they could discover an undue leaning towards the guilty father. At first, the youth had been allowed to accompany British officers in their evening rides, and to visit them at their quarters; but the current of indignation and hatred had set in against the house of Delhi, and it was not endured that any member of it should be exempt from the penalty which the offences of its head had brought down upon his race. Jumma Bukht, therefore, was subjected to a species of captivity within the walls of the palace enclosure; but, as no charge could be alleged or proved against him, of any complicity in the outbreak of May, or in any of the proceedings that followed, it was conceded to his earnest appeal that, on account of the king's great age and increasing infirmity, the prince should be permitted, under certain restrictions, to accompany his father into exile.

In a case of such importance as that which involved the future destiny of one who had inherited a royal name, and was yet, even in his fallen state, the acknowledged representative of an illustrious line of Eastern sovereigns, it became requisite that mature deliberation should be exercised, and that the highest authority should be afforded an opportunity to reverse or ratify the sentence passed upon the fallen occupant of a throne, by a court composed of three or four British officers. It was also necessary to determine the course to be adopted with regard to the female members of the royal establishment, whose destiny was interwoven with that of the prisoner, to whom the brightest days of their existence had been devoted, and who were now crushed by the blow that had prostrated him. The zenana of the aged king contained a number of females of rank; who, by the result of the insurrection, were now wholly dependent upon the liberality of the British government for the means of even daily subsistence. They were all without resources, and had been spoiled of their jewels and valuable ornaments by the rude grasp of unsympathising victors, or by the treachery of their servants, who had fled from them in the hour of peril. The condition of these ladies was alike pitiable and embarrassing, until the generosity of the government afforded them relief from the distress by which they were surrounded.

The ex-king was himself permitted to choose such of his wives as he preferred, to accompany him in the desolate path that lay between him and the grave; and, having made his selection, the ladies were next consulted as to their willingness to share the rigours of his exile. Of those named by the prisoner, several at once recoiled from the cheerless future to which his partiality had invited them; but Zeenat Mahal, whose girlish attachment had long settled into a calm and enduring friendship for one who, a quarter of a century previous, had placed her by his side on the throne of the Moguls, determined for one to share his fate, and to consummate, in a far-off land, the singular vicissitudes that had accompanied her existence. One other of the wives of the ex-king emulated the example and the fidelity of Zeenat Mahal; and by those only of the royal zenana was the offer of the government to accompany the prisoner accepted.

For these ladies, suitable provision had to be made. They were not criminals; and it was not by their act that the palace-home and royal state of the king of Delhi had become changed to a prison-tent and a convict's fare. To have treated them with harshness or parsimoniously in the alternative they had adopted, would, it was felt, have been unworthy of the government which had established itself upon the ruins of their state. A sufficient allowance was, therefore, promptly granted for their maintenance; and, with a delicacy

